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ABSTRACT

This first of four volumes on the history of compulsory education among the nations of Europe and the Western hemisphere deals with historical antecedents and early development. Of the 29 total articles, 18 are in English and 2 have English summaries. Many selections include bibliographies. Titles and authors are as follows: "The Political Institutionalization of Compulsory Education" (Francisco O. Ramirez and John Boli); "L'Obbligo Scolastico e la Scuola di Base Nello Scritto d'un Pedagogista Cileno" (Alessandro Leonarduzzi); "Beginnings of Compulsory Education in the Republic of Columbia" (O. Negrin Fajardo and D. Soto Arango); "L'Obligation Educative en France des Origines a Nos Jours" (Paul Gerbod); "L'Introduction de l'Obligation Scolaire dans l'Allemagne Protestante du XVIe au XVIIIe Siecle" (Jean-Luc Le Cam); "Karl August Zeller (1774-1846). Aide-Camps pour la Prusse, Pays en Voie de Developpement en Matiere d'Education Nationale, dans le Contexte du Decalage Sud-Nord des Pays Germanophones" (Rudolf Koschnitzke); "The Historical Development of Compulsory Schooling in Germany" (Gabriele Weigand); "The History of Compulsory Education in Germany" (Karl-Heinz Guenther and Gert Geissler); "The Advent of Universal Compulsory Elementary Education in England and Wales" (D. K. Jones); "Gradual Regulation of Schooling Age and School Attendance in Hungary since 1777 up to Now" (Otto Vag); "The Debate about the Introduction of Compulsory Elementary Education of 1848 in Hungary" (Sandor Komlosi); "Compulsory Education in the Twenty Years after Italian Unification (1860-1880)" (Enzo Catarsi); "Chiesa e Obbligo Scolastico

Nell'Italia Post-Unitaria (1860-1900)" (Carmela Covato); "Compulsory Education in The Netherlands" (J. F. A. Braster and N. L. Dodde); "School and Literacy. Introduction of the Elementary School in Norway in the 1730's and 1740's" (Knut Tveit); "The Idea of Unbroken Primary School in Norway" (Knut Jordheim); "L'Introduction de l'Obligation Scolaire dans la Pologne, la Prusse et l'Autriche" (Marianna Krupa); "Legal Foundation and Accomplishment of Compulsory Education in Poland in 1918-1939" (Jozef Zerko and Romuald Grzybowski); "L'Introduction et la Prolongation de la Scolarite Obligatoire au Portugal" (Joaquim Ferreira Gomes); "L'Enseignement Obligatoire dans les Constitutions Espagnoles due XIXe Siecle" (Federico Gomez Rodriguez de Castro); "Le Chemin Vers l'Enseignement Obligatoire en Espagne Avant 1857" (Anastasio Martinez Navarro); "Apport des Municipalites Constitutionnelles a l'Introduction de l'Enseignement Obligatoire en Espagne" (Julio Ruiz Berrio); "Compulsory Education in the Swiss Canton of Zurich from 1798 to 1859" (Fritz-Peter Hager); "La Reproclamation de l'Instruction Obligatoire, a Geneve, au XIXe Siecle: Du Refus de 1842 a l'Acceptation de 1872" (Charles Magnin); "Towards Compulsory Education: The School Revival Movement in the United States" (Jurgen Herbst); "The Roots of Compulsory Education in America" (L. Glenn Smith); "Compulsory Education in Utopia: Owen and Neef" (Dieter Jedan); "Compulsory Education in the Waldorf Schools in America" (Joseph A. Baust); and "Compulsory Education in Chicago" (Joan K. Smith). (CJH)

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# INTRODUCTION, DEVELOPMENT AND EXTENSION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION

## CONFERENCE PAPERS FOR THE 8TH SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL STANDING CONFERENCE FOR THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

Edited by
GIOVANNI GENOVESI

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

VOLUME 1

EA 019 221

UNIVERSITÀ DI PARMA - "BOLLETTINO" C.I.R.S.E.
PARMA 1986

Università
degli Studi
PARMA

Centro Italiano per la
Ricerca Storico-Educativa
C.I.R.S.E.

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PARMA 3-6 SEPTEMBER 1986

*Edited by*
**GIOVANNI GENOVESI**

**VOLUME I**

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## PREFACE

*This pubblication contains the Conference papers of the 8th Session ISCHE.*

*We think it is a fundamental instrument for following and fostering the debate in the working groups.*

*Just in this perspective we tried to give to the papers either an agreeable graphic presentableness - even if aesthetically without sophistry - or the best organicity and handiness, without forcing, of course, the choices of the working groups and the plan of the papers of each author.*

*Thus, we subdivided the papers into four volumes: the first volume for the working group 1 (the biggest); the second volume for the working group 2 and 3; the third volume for the working group 4 and, finally, the fourth volume for the working group 5 (the smallest, unfortunately!) and 6.*

*Moreover for each group we divided the papers in accordance with discussed country, in alphabetical order and chronologically.*

*The search of each paper is helped by list of participants, either in alphabetical order or by working group and by nationality, at the foot of the fourth volume, there*

## PREFACE

*Cette publication contient les communications de l'VIIIe Session de l'AIHE.*

*Nous croyons qu'elle est un instrument fondamental pour suivre et pour animer le débat dans les groupes de travail.*

*Juste dans cette perspective nous avons tâché de donner aux communications, qui nous sont parvenues, soit une agréable présentation graphique - même si, sans doute, pas esthétiquement sophistiquée-, soit le caractère organique le meilleur et la maniabilité la plus fonctionnelle sans, évidemment, prévariquer les choix des groupes de travail et l'esquisse que chaque auteur a donné à sa communication.*

*Comme cela, nous avons subdivisé les communications en quatre volumes: un pour le premier groupe (le plus nombreux); un pour le second et le troisième groupe; un pour le quatrième et un, enfin, pour les groupes cinquième (le plus petit, malheureusement!) et le sixième.*

*Pour chacun groupe, en outre, nous avons partagé les communications selon les pays qu'elles considèrent, par ordre alphabétique et chronologique.*

*La recherche de chaque communication*

## PREFAZIONE

*La presente pubblicazione contiene le relazioni della 8ª Sessione dell'ISCHE.*

*Noi crediamo che essa sia uno strumento fondamentale per seguire e animare il dibattito all'interno dei vari gruppi di lavoro.*

*Proprio in questa prospettiva abbiamo cercato di dare alle comunicazioni pervenuteci sia una veste grafica gradevole, se non certo esteticamente sofisticata, sia la maggiore organicità e la più funzionale maneggevolezza senza prevaricare le scelte dei gruppi di lavoro e l'impostazione che i singoli autori hanno dato alle loro comunicazioni.*

*Abbiamo, così, suddiviso le relazioni in quattro agili volumi: uno per il primo gruppo (il più numeroso), uno per il secondo ed il terzo, uno per il quarto e uno, infine, per il quinto (il più esiguo, purtroppo!) e il sesto gruppo.*

*All'interno di ciascun gruppo, inoltre, i contributi sono stati ripartiti secondo le nazioni da essi considerate, per ordine alfabetico e con una ulteriore articolazione cronologica interna.*

*La ricerca delle singole comunicazioni è facilitata dalla lista dei membri della Conferenza, articolata sia per ordine alfabetico, sia per gruppo di lavoro che per nazionalità,*

*is the detailed program of the Conference and the general information too. Therefore, the volumes want to be only a functional guide to Conference works by information and, above all, by systematical collection of the mailed Conference papers. So, each author is responsible for the contents, language and technical quality of his/her paper, because our interventions are restricted to some retouches for a passable graphic planner of the four volumes.*

Parma, 5 June 1986

Prof. Giovanni Genovesi
Conference President

*est facilité grâce à la liste des membres de l'VIIIe Session de l'AIHE, articulée soit par ordre alphabétique, soit par groupe de travail et par nationalité, qui est, avec le programme détaillé de la Conférence et des renseignements généraux à caractère logistique, au bas du quatrième volume. Les volumes, donc, veuillent être seulement un guide fonctionnel aux travaux de la Conférence en offrant des utiles renseignements généraux et, surtout, le recueil systematique et facile à consulter des communications qu'on a envoyées pour le débat dans les groupes de travail. C'est comme cela que chaque auteur a la responsabilité du contenu, du langage et de la qualité technique de sa communication, du moment que nos interventions sont limitées à des simples retouches pour une passable planification graphique des quatre volumes.*

Parme, le 5 Juin 1986

Prof. Giovanni Genovesi
Président de la Conférence

*messa in calce al quarto volume insieme al programma dettagliato della Conferenza e alle informazioni generali di carattere logistico. I quattro volumi, quindi, vogliono essere soltanto una guida funzionale ai lavori della Conferenza, offrendo informazioni e, soprattutto, la raccolta sistematica e di facile consultazione delle comunicazioni che i membri dell'8ª Sessione dell'ISCHE hanno inviato per la discussione all'interno dei lavori di gruppo. Pertanto, ciascun autore è responsabile per il contenuto, il linguaggio e la qualità tecnica della sua comunicazione, dal momento che i nostri interventi si sono limitati a dei ritocchi per unificare l'impostazione grafica dei quattro volumi.*

Parma, 5 Giugno 1986

Prof. Giovanni Genovesi
Presidente della Conferenza

## WORKING GROUP

## 1

# THE DEBATE ABOUT THE INTRODUCTION, DEVELOPMENT AND EXTENSION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION

# Bollettino

centro italiano per la ricerca storico-educativa

Istituto di Pedagogia - Borgo Carissimi, 10 - Telef. (0521) 29032 - 43100 Parma

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Non bisogna dimenticare che il Bollettino vuol essere anche un incontro ideale tra soci che sono sparpagliati in tutta Italia. E' uno strumento per tenere i contatti e come tale va usato. Questa sottolineatura non vuol essere altro che un affettuoso invito per tutti i soci a servirsi del Bollettino anche per coltivare proficui rapporti di collaborazione e così incrementare le nostre ricerche e, perché no, la nostra amicizia.

Un caro saluto

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Suppl. di «Ricerche Pedagogiche» Reg. al Trib. Parma Decr. 4-2-1966 n. 338 - Sped. abb. post. Gruppo IV - Dirett. Resp.: G. GENOVESI

# THE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Francisco O. Ramirez
John Boli

INTRODUCTION: Sociological explanations of the genesis and dynamics of compulsory education have typically focused on societal-level factors such as industrialization, urbanization, differentiation, and the rise of the state. These efforts at analyzing the origins and institutionalization of compulsory education may be roughly classified as falling under two general perspectives: a) Following Durkheim, some scholars contend that an increasingly complex division of labor required the establishment of compulsory education to create a new basis for a socially integrated order; and b) Following Marx, other writers argue that increasing class differentiation led to compulsory education as a mechanism of social control designed to produce compliant workers or to reproduce the culture of the dominant class or group. Though these perspectives appear to be at odds with one another, they share two important features: a) The causal forces identified are internal characteristics of national societies, whether these be conceptualized as societal strains or class conflicts; and b) Both perspectives utilize functionalist logic: compulsory education develops to satisfy the needs of the new social order or the interests of the dominant class.

The historical evidence does not fit well with either perspective. Within Europe the early industrializers, urbanizers, and state-builders were not the earliest to adopt compulsory education. Flora (1983) shows that Prussia (1763) and Denmark (1814) for example, were ahead of France (1882) and England (1880), though the latter were quicker to consolidate state power and to attain higher levels of both industrialization and urbanization. Moreover, both perspectives take for granted the stabilizing or co-optational character of modern structures of mass education while ignoring the efficacy of historically antecedent strategies for maintaining order and curbing dissent, e.g., repressive and exclusionary policies. The modern faith in mass education indeed facilitated its development, but one needs to explain the institutional origins of this modern faith rather than trot out tired functionalist scripts in which societal or class needs are assigned a determinate causal power. The shortcomings of the technocratic version of the functionalist script are well-known (Collins, 1979), but similar problems also characterize its neo-Marxist variants (Archer, 1985).

We propose an alternative approach to the issue, one that recognizes the significance of the nearly universal triumph of the social innovation of compulsory education in the contemporary world. This process no doubt reflects the worldwide institutionalization of the Western faith in mass education. What needs to be explained, however, is why compulsory mass education was politically institutionalized throughout the West in the 19th century despite so much variation in the societal characteristics and histories of the nation states involved. The basic question thus becomes: What is it about Western (now world) culture that makes compulsory mass education a viable and even imperative strategy in the project of constructing the nation? We have addressed specific aspects of this question in greater detail elsewhere (Boli and Ramirez, 1986; Ramirez and Boli, 1986, 1985; Boli, Ramirez and Meyer, 1985; Ramirez and Boli, 1982). This paper briefly highlights some general features of our argument.

WESTERN CULTURE, NATION-BUILDING, AND MASS EDUCATION

The nation-building aims of mass educational systems have long been documented in educational histories (e.g., Reisner, 1922). These scholarly accounts emphasize the role of mass education in the nationalist aspirations of particular leaders, in the nationalist policies of particular regimes, and in how particular societies coped with an array of national crises. But the global ascendancy of mass education cannot adequately be explained by merely pointing to particular persons, regimes, or crises. Prior to the educational proclamation in 1619 in the German state of Weimar, there were no geo-political disputes, no economic programs, no cultural orientations, and no personal attitudes that resulted in compulsory mass education. And yet, in the contemporary world mass education is at or near the top of virtually every national agenda. The evolving Western cultural framework must be directly assessed in order to grasp the transnational roots of the institutional legitimacy of mass education. That is, we must examine worldwide structures and ideologies to make sense out of the worldwide acceptance of mass education.

The scholarly assessments of the changing Western frame have emphasized three major transformations: the development of the capitalist exchange economy, the rise of the inter-state system, and the Reformation and Counter-reformation movements. Though it is generally recognized that these transformations had a cumulative impact on the formation of Western culture, much research continues to ignore the overriding entivity of the Western frame, and consequently, exaggerates the autonomy of the national sub-units therein. We contend, and the evidence suggests, that what was most critical in the period between the introduction of compulsory education in Prussia (1763) and its enactment in Belgium (1914), all the other Western European countries falling in between in their compulsory education legislation, is that all these national sub-units were in the process of reorganizing themselves under a more or less common set of assumptions. Viewed as a whole, these assumptions consisted in a Western model of nation-building, a model now writ worldwide.

The primacy of the individual as the most elementary building block of the national project was the first of these assumptions. Often this assumption is discussed solely in connection with the Protestant Ethic and somewhat divorced from the capitalist exchange economy and the inter-state system. But economic and political individualism underlies both the expansion of exchange networks and the accumulation of authority in the national state. It is increasingly individuals who are viewed as both units of production and exchange as well as the units that need to be mobilized into membership in national polities. Though the ontological status of individuals was more clearly articulated early on in the Protestant countries, throughout the nineteenth century religious differences and their culturally unique consequences were substantially diluted. This "second round" of cultural homogenization in Western Europe was the long-term consequence of a paradoxical process: the Reformation emphasis on the individual was implicitly accepted within pedagogical innovations in the Counter-Reformation (e.g., the schools of the Society of Jesus) even as the organization of the Church continued to serve as the model for the emerging states of Western Europe. As a result the Western definition of the national project focused on the aggregation of the activities of individuals; more productive and more loyal individuals should lead to national economic development and political success. And, since the individual was what counted, individuals were literally counted in an increasingly systematic manner through state-sponsored population surveys (as early as 1749 in Sweden) that now take the form of highly standardized national censuses. These in turn give rise to national accounting systems that mainly consist in aggregate accounts of the activities of individuals. This constitutes further societal rationalization in a twofold sense: 1. More aspects of individual activity are in the aggregate linked to considerations of national welfare and progress; and 2. More consensus on the relevant criteria for assessing national progress is attained, despite the proliferation of nation-states in recent decades, not least because states report to common transnational bodies, e.g., UNESCO, the ILO, the World Bank, that reflect the Western accounting system.

The Western model of nation-building thus involved two other assumptions: the nation consisted in the aggregation of individuals within the jurisdiction of a collective authority, and the project of nation-building was a highly rationalized agenda for attaining progress. This agenda presupposed similarly valued ends, similarly efficacious means, and ultimately a universalistic vision of similar individuals emanating from a common human ground. On the European continent the national states explicitly became the collective authority over this nation-building project; in the USA, and to some extent in Great Britain, the nation-building project was more contingent on social movements and only loosely associated with the organization of the national state. The European experience looks like a top-down bureaucratic process; the Anglo-American tradition appears to be a bottom-up series of movements. These differences are of some importance: to this day, there is no federal law mandating compulsory education in the USA. But the import of these differences can also be overestimated: all the constituent "states" within the American Union have compulsory schooling laws. The voluntaristic character of the British polity was ultimately modified in the direction of greater state involvement in mass education (_in pacem_ John Stuart Mill). At different political levels and through different political processes a common commitment to forming the national polity through mass schooling was achieved throughout the West.

The pursuit of the national agenda took place within a transnational framework that involved intense economic and political competition. Compulsory mass education became a standardized feature of mass mobilizational strategies designed to upgrade or revitalize the position of the nation-state within the European economic and political order. Military setbacks seemed especially fortuitous occasions for activating the Western model of nation-building through compulsory mass education and related "reforms" (e.g., Prussia after the battle of Jena in 1806 and France after the Franco-Prussian War in 1870). But declining industrial supremacy also triggered a similar political concern with mass education (e.g., Great Britain after the Paris Exhibition in 1867, and more recently, the USA since the mid-1970s). The specific nature of the national crisis clearly varies but the national mobilizational response frequently entails a common assumption: to save the nation the masses must be socialized or re-socialized through mass schooling. Some researchers contend that it is not the nation, but the dominant class that is saved through this process. Note, though, that within both these views there is enormous confidence in the power of the school system to transform the children of the masses into loyal and productive citizens. This confidence directly mirrors the

Western assumption that childhood is a crucial period in the life cycle and that childhood socialization is the key to adult personal development. Since the latter, in the aggregate, is seen as critical to national welfare, the development of a compelling national interest in childhood socialization is not surprising. The "discover" of the societal significance of childhood socialization swept the West from the 17th century onwards (Jolibert, 1981) and now commands worldwide reverence. There is nothing inherent in national or class interests that dictates the worldwide movement in favor of compulsory mass education independent of the worldwide triumph of the Western model of nation-building.

To summarize, the rise and institutionalization of compulsory education in the West needs to be conceptualized as an enactment of the Western model of nation-building. The underlying assumptions of this model are: A. The Primacy of the Individual, B. The Nation as an Aggregation of Individuals, C. National Progress as a Rationalized Agenda under Collective Authority (often National States), and D. The Efficacy of Childhood Socialization and its Significance in the Life Cycle. To the extent that this model has vanquished alternative accounting systems worldwide one should expect to find a more rapid and more thorough commitment to compulsory mass education in the nation-building project in newer nations. And indeed, our research indicates that the newer nations eagerly embrace the doctrine of national development via compulsory mass education both ideologically and concretely.

## OBSTACLES TO THE WESTERN MODEL OF NATION-BUILDING

This paper briefly considers some features of the Western model of nation-building now strongly institutionalized throughout the world and contends that adherence to this model has been the primary motor leading to compulsory mass education. We recognize though that some societal characteristics as well as societal linkages to the world system facilitate or hinder adherence to this model. We conclude by identifying the following structural obstacles to the Western model:

1. Economic factors: Insulation from the institutions of the national exchange economy -- markets for labor, land, and capital -- hinders the development of compulsory education. Plantation economic organization involving slavery or serfdom de-emphasizes the universalistic status of the individual and delays the entry of individuals as producers and consumers into national accounts of economic activity and growth. The prevalence of this form of organization is often blamed for the slower movement toward compulsory mass education in Eastern Europe and in parts of Latin America. But as indicated earlier, industrial organization does not itself foster compulsory mass education. Both cross-national comparisons (Sweden versus England) and regional comparisons within nations (e.g., the lack of commitment to mass schooling in the regions dominated by the mountain extractive industries, *berghanteringen*, in Sweden) indicate the importance of distinguishing between economic factors that promote individuation and those that are quite compatible with feudal, estate, or traditional guild corporate structures. Only the former are conducive to the rise of compulsory mass education.

2. Political factors: The underdevelopment of national institutions of incorporation and mobilization constitutes another obstacle. The less individuals are linked to the state as voters, taxpayers, soldiers, etc., the lower the likelihood of establishing mass education. The issue is not how democratic a regime is but rather the extent to which the polity

presupposes mobilized or potentially mobilizable individuals. In the 18th and 19th centuries the existence of a national church of individualist bent (as in the Scandinavian countries) stimulated organizing membership in the national polity by providing the state with an organizational model for mobilizing solidarity. The absence of a national church (e.g., Holland) or the presence of one with a nonindividualist bent (e.g., Ireland) slowed the development of compulsory mass schooling.

3. Linkages to the world system and position therein: Adherence to the Western model of nation-building is weakened by lack of contact with the carriers of this recipe for national development or by movements designed to maximize cultural, political, or economic autarky. The more isolated a national sub-unit is from the larger system, the greater the likelihood of its retaining or developing culturally idiosyncratic accounts. While this may be self-evident, it is less well understood that early success in the competitive system (e.g., the United Provinces, Great Britain) barred early adoption of compulsory education. Conversely, crises that delegitimated the older institutional frameworks facilitated embracing the Western model of nation-building and, hence, compulsory mass education.

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## SUMMARY

We view the rise of compulsory mass education throughout the West as an enactment of the Western model of nation-building. From this perspective national societies are sub-units strongly influenced by a transnational model that reflects the major transformations of the broader Western economy, polity, and culture. We identify these transformations -- the rise of the exchange economy, the development of the inter-state system, and the Reformation/Counter-reformation movements -- and note their relevance in shaping the assumptions that constitute the Western model of nation-building. Particular attention is paid to key assumptions such as the primacy of the socializable individual, the rationalization of the nation-building project as the aggregation of individual activities, and the legitimacy of public authority (often national states) in the management of the nation-building project. We contend that the adoption of compulsory education is an intelligible and even an imperative nation-building strategy, given the triumph of the Western model of societal development. More specifically, if national economic development and political success is believed to be contingent on the creation of productive and loyal citizens and if national collective authority is held responsible for economic growth and political order, then a national interest in mass socialization "makes sense." Compulsory education rules affirm this interest; their adoption throughout the West cannot be adequately accounted for by theories that focus only on the internal characteristics of specific societies.

The Western model of nation-building is now writ worldwide. The nearly universal adoption of compulsory education has become even more difficult to explain if analysis is restricted to particular societies, particular regimes, or particular leaders. The broader transnational frame needs to be systematically taken into account in assessments of compulsory education developments. But adherence to the Western model can be obstructed by societal characteristics which de-emphasize the universalistic status of the individual or prevent the development of national institutions of incorporation and mobilization. The absence of linkages to world carriers of the Western model also slows the process of adoption. A position of dominance in the world system is another obstacle to early adoption. But the long-term historical trend clearly shows the increasingly institutionalized character of compulsory mass education throughout the world.

# L'OBBLIGO SCOLASTICO E LA SCUOLA DI BASE NELLO SCRITTO D'UN PEDAGOGISTA CILENO

Alessandro Leonarduzzi

## 1. Un'opera riuscita: "El problema nacional"

Pubblicato nel 1917,*El problema nacional.Bases para la reconstrucción de nuestro sistema escolar primario*(1), ancor oggi ci appare contributo d'indole pedagogica e sociale vivo e stimolante per la solidità e sobrietà dell'impostazione, per il rigore dell'apparato documentario,per la stringatezza ed incisività delle argomentazioni e delle proposte che tuttavia non escludono il ricorso a qualche artificio stilistico,ma orientato a produrre la riflessione ed il meditato convincimento del lettore,piuttosto che ottenerne il più facile consenso emotivo.

L'autore,Darío Salas,ispettore generale della scuola primaria,in seguito consigliere universitario,decano della Facoltà di Filosofia,infine,dal 1910,docente nell'"Instituto Pedagógico" di Santiago(2),raccoglieva in esso il frutto più maturo delle sue esperienze e delle sue riflessioni in campo educativo,dava la misura della sua personalità equilibrata ed armonica,aperta a diversi influssi culturali,fra cui spicca quello nordamericano,specialmente nel suo filone di rinnovamento pedagogico rappresentato da John Dewey,di cui tradusse il *My Pedagogical Creed*.E inoltre,pur distinguendosi per ampiezza d'orizzonte e per originalità di tono e di dettato,l'opera del Salas si inscriveva saldamente nel contesto della più recente storia sociale e culturale della nazione cilena,anzi ne era segno cospicuo in un momento in cui,all'alba del nuovo secolo,anche il problema dell'obbligo scolastico e della formazione di base venne a costituire la pietra di paragone e d'inciampo del "vecchio" liberalismo.

Il nuovo stato cileno,affrancatosi definitivamente dalla tutela spagnola nel 1817,dopo un periodo di transizione s'assestò nel regime della "República Pe-

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1) Soc. Imp. y Lit. Universo,Santiago de Chile. Ho presente ed utilizzo di seguito la seconda edizione,pubbl. dalla Facultad de Filosofía y Ciencias de la Universidad de Chile (Editorial Universitaria),Santiago 1967, 221 pp.

2) Fondato nel 1889 per inziativa soprattutto di Valentín Letelier (1852-1919), fautore d'un rinnovamento del sistema educativo del suo Paese secondo il modello germanico,ch'egli aveva avuto modo di conoscere a Berlino.L'"Instituto Pedagógico" ebbe il còmpito di formare tutti i docenti della secondaria.

lucona" (parruccona),che definì il suo assetto istituzionale con la costituzione del 1833,e solamente sotto la presidenza di Federico Errazurίz Zañartu (1871 -1875) prevalse il nuovo corso,la "República Liberal",non priva di fermenti di stampo radicale.Questa,tuttavia,ben presto dovette cedere il passo alla cosiddetta "República Parlamentaria",espressione dell'insorgente borghesia industriale,desiderosa d'assicurarsi un'influenza politica corrispondente all'effettivo potere economico,ed il cui indirizzo riuscì a prevalere fino al 1920,quando il liberalismo radicale,portatore delle istanze della piccola e media borghesia, risultò alla fine vincente,insediando alla suprema carica dello Stato Arturo Alessandri Palma.(3)

## 2. Evoluzione della scuola primaria

In corrispondenza,più o meno puntuale,con le strutture politiche e sociali precedentemente abbozzate,il sistema scolastico cileno ebbe un'evoluzione caratterizzata da una prima fase in cui,respinta la tradizione ispanica,fu tenuto presente il modello scolastico francese (a parte gli apporti autoctoni di Domingo Faustino Sarmiento e di Andrés Bello)(4),cui seguì,all'incirca dal 1880,il ricorso alla pedagogia tedesca,oggetto d'ammirazione altresì come segno d'uno Stato "forte" e socialmente stabile. Solamente alla fine dell'Ottocento ed agli inizi del nuovo secolo istanze pedagogiche meno "autoritarie" e più aperte alla lezione della psicologia e delle altre scienze umane incominciarono a farsi strada,spesso denunciando - com'è il caso del Salas - le inadempienze della politica scolastica

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3) Per l'approfondimento di questi ed analoghi temi di carattere pedagogico e politico-sociale,trattati in seguito,mi sia consentito rimandare alla mia ricerca *Educazione e società nell'America latina.Cile e Brasile*,Ed. La Scuola,Brescia 1974.

4)D.F.SARMIENTO (1811-1888) "vero gigante del gruppo argentino", oppositore del dittatore De Rosas (indirettamente stigmatizzato in *Civilización y barbarie*), durante il suo soggiorno in Cile recò contributi cospicui in campo culturale e pedagogico. Andrés BELLO (n. a Caracas nel 1781) accompagnò Bolívar a Londra (1810) e venne in contatto con la rappresentanza diplomatica cilena,di cui entrò a far parte nel 1882. Letterato,filosofo,studioso di linguistica (*Gramática de la lengua castellana*),occupò un posto preminente nella cultura e nella scuola cilene dell'Ottocento anche come rettore dell'"Universidad de Chile".

"liberale" ed i limiti delle dottrine pedagogico-didattiche (fra cui il tardo herbartismo) con cui si cercava di legittimarla,fornendo alla stessa un supporto ritenuto scientificamente valido.

Per limitarci alla questione che ci riguarda direttamente,agli inizi del Novecento l'interesse per i problemi e per le soluzioni attinenti all'istruzione primaria e popolare - non esclusa l'istanza dell'obbligatorietà - aveva alle sue spalle una lunga tradizione che si può far risalire alla riforma del 1860 ed agli effetti positivi ch'essa aveva prodotto,specialmente con il passaggio dalla "República Pelucona" all'ordinamento "liberale",pur con i limiti precedentemente rilevati.

La *Ley orgánica de la enseñanza primaria y normal*(5) veniva incontro,almeno in parte, a richieste da tempo emergenti,se non altro perché ne fissava la struttura e,specificamente per la primaria,rappresentava un innegabile progresso rispetto alla deplorevole situazione denunciata anche dai fratelli Miguel Luis e Gregorio Victor Amunátegui e dallo stesso Sarmiento in opere presentate e premiate nel concorso bandito,nel 1853,dall'Università.(6) L'insegnamento elementare quadriennale,assolutamente gratuito,si doveva impartire in ogni località con duemila abitanti,mentre il grado "superiore",biennale,era riservato ai centri maggiori.

Quanto al finanziamento,la legge prevedeva uno stanziamento specifico sul bilancio annuale dello Stato,ma i comuni avrebbero contribuito sostanzialmente,attingendo da particolari imposte *ad hoc* autorizzate.E non si trascuravano le disposizioni d'ordine amministrativo che,completate dal regolamento del 1863,affidavano la direzione di tutto il settore ad un ispettore generale e a ispettori periferici ("visitadores provinciales") da lui dipendenti,con ampi poteri anche nelle procedure relative al reclutamento dei docenti,alla determinazione delle retribuzioni,alla loro carriera,comprese le "promozioni" in

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5) Si cfr. anche A.LABARCA,*Historia de la enseñanza en Cile*,Impr.Un.,Sant.1939.
6) I primi nello scritto *De l'instrcción primaria en Chile,lo que es,lo que debería ser*,Imp. "El Ferrocarril", Sant.go 1856;il secondo in *De la educación común*, *ibidem* 1856.

cui la stessa si articolava.Mancava,invece,una scelta precisa circa la frequenza scolastica:significativa lacuna,che nemmeno trovava giustificazione nella presenza,limitata,della scuola "confessionale" che si sviluppò soprattutto ad opera della "Sociedad de Escuelas Católicas de Santo Tomás de Aquino" e per impulso delle Chiese protestanti,specialmente dopo l'emanazione della legge che ne liberalizzava le pratiche di culto (1853).

**D'altra** parte,nonostante l'enorme progresso rispetto al vuoto dei decenni precedenti,nonostante l'evolversi della temperie politica e culturale (ma il liberalismo "parlamentario" costituì un momento di stallo della partecipazione borghese e popolare),a distanza di mezzo secolo il panorama della formazione di base,anche nei suoi aspetti più appariscenti - frequenza scolastica e tasso d'analfabetismo - appariva desolante,fallimentare.

## 3. Bilancio di mezzo secolo

Il primo capitolo di El Problema Nacional non a caso parte da un bilancio della scuola cilena,alla fine del terzo lustro del Novecento,con un richiamo statistico che è opportuno riportare integralmente:(7)

| Años | Escuelas fiscales | Matrícula | Presupuesto $ | Porcent. de letrados (los que leen) en la población total | Porcent. de letrados (los que leen) en la población mayor de 5 años |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1865 | 599 | 39.236 | 234.340 | 17 | 24 |
| 1875 | 818 | 65.875 | 472.870 | 22,5 | 28 |
| 1885 | 826 | 68.894 | 753.100 | 28,8 | 34 |
| 1895 | 1.248 | 114.565 | 1.861.500 | 31,9 | 38,1 |
| 1905 | 2.099 | 159.379 | 5.727.115 | 40 | 47,2 |
| 1915 | 2.920 | 308.113 | 14.950.922 | 40 | 52 |

Non c'è dubbio,commenta il Salas,che si sia fatto qualche passo:aumento della scolarizzazione,incremento del bilancio destinato alla scuola primaria,attenuazione dell'analfabetismo e,soprattutto,perfezionamento dei metodi e dei cur-

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7) El Problema Nacional, p.32.

ricoli.(8) Tuttavia,il passivo è ancora molto pesante:in particolare,la scuola di base cilena non raggiunge ancora centinaia di migliaia di individui;non è in grado di venire incontro ai bisogni degli adulti;ha una struttura rigida e centralizzata,con scarse connessioni con gli altri ordini e gradi;infine è carente anche dal punto di vista didattico,ché sembra esaurito lo slancio prodotto dalla riforma del 1860.

Fra questi difetti il primo,di cui viene richiamata la dimensione quantitativa,(9) strappa al Salas un moto di rammarico e di sdegno nell'icastica raffigurazione degli effetti che ne potrebbero derivare: "Un millón y seicientos mil analfabetos mayores de seis años! Colocada en fila,a ciencuenta centímetros uno de otro,formarían una columna de 800 kilómetros de largo,la distancia que media entre Santiago y Puerto Montt! Si desfilaran frente al Congreso Nacional en hileras de a cuatro,a un metro de distancia una de otra,y marcharan a razón de cuarenta kilómetros por día,el ruido de sus pasos turbaría los oidos y la conciencia de nuestro legisladores durante diez días..."(10)

Ma non sia solo l'effetto provocato da questa scena,immaginata eppur veritiera;non sia il moto sentimentale prodotto dall'evocazione di questa marcia di emarginati a determinare l'assenso e la partecipazione -, s'affretta a precisare il Salas.Vi sono ragioni e motivazioni molto più solide che sono condivise da larghe fasce di quella borghesia vieppiù sensibile agli interessi genera-

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8)"Junto con ampliar a nuestros programas,hemos ido sustituyendo los métodos verbalistas y mecánicos con otros más racionales...La enseñanza simultánea,la adecuada clasificación de los alumnos...la concentricidad,han reemplazado a la enseñanza individual... la disciplina ha abandonado sus procedimientos brutales y envilicedores..." (*op. cit.*,pp. 33-34).

9)Il censimento del 1907 aveva accertato una percentuale del 60 per 100 di analfabeti rispetto alla popolazione totale e del 52,8 per cento dei maggiori dei cinque anni d'età. Riferendosi al momento in cui scriveva,il Salas calcola che circa 400.000 fanciulli e preadolescenti siano affatto privi d'istruzione e che gli adulti analfabeti siano circa 1.200.000.

10) *Op. cit.*, p.40.

li,cosciente del fatto che l'infanzia e la fanciullezza costituiscono un capitale che non si può impunemente trascurare o abbandonare all'influsso,spesso perverso,dell'ambiente.

Di fronte a tale situazione,è inutile recriminare a vuoto.Urge,piuttosto,decidere ed agire di conseguenza.

## 4.Possibili soluzioni.L'obbligo scolastico

A parte la volontà politica,sulla cui maturazione il Salas sembra contare con eccessivo ottimismo,tre sarebbero,secondo lui,i maggiori ostacoli che si frappongono allo sforzo di debellare l'analfabetismo nella fascia scolastica: la mancanza del contributo finanziario dei comuni,l'insufficiente numero di insegnanti qualificati,infine la scarsa maturità civica e sociale delle famiglie,attestata dall'evasione dall'obbligo anche nelle scuole ben attrezzate e facilmente accessibili.

Per quanto riguarda il primo punto,non a caso si nota la singolare coincidenza fra la prassi riguardante i finanziamenti da parte degli enti locali,previsti dalla più recente legislazione e in realtà disattesi quasi totalmente, e gli èsiti circa la frequenza scolastica,pur sanzionata da numerosi articoli del Codice civile e penale,ma sostanzialmente dipendenti dalla buona volontà e dalle scelte delle famiglie e delle persone operanti nelle singole istituzioni educative.

Con la nuova legge sugli enti locali del 1915,il cui articolo 15 prevedeva l'intervento dei sindaci anche per avviare le eventuali procedure penali a carico dei contravventori,qualcosa aveva incominciato a muoversi,ma non si deve ritenere - continua il Salas - che ciò basti e che non sia necessario,invece, un nuovo provvedimento legislativo che sanzioni,in maniera inequivocabile,l'obbligo scolastico.(11)

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11) Il malvezzo di non applicare leggi e regolamenti non era di certo prerogativa solo **del** Cile,su cui pur pesava il retaggio della dominazione spagnola che aveva coniato,a vantaggio dei viceré o governatori riottosi,la formula d'una ipocrisia sottile :"Se obedece,pero no se cumple".

## 5. I provvedimenti legislativi

La proposta di legge del deputato Enrique Oyarzún,presentata alla Camera nell'autunno del 1919,costituisce secondo il Salas - il quale si era già espresso in uno scritto del 1910[12] - un vero salto di qualità,in quanto imponeva ai genitori ed ai tutori dei fanciulli dai sette ai dodici anni d'età di provvedere alla scolarizzazione degli stessi nelle istituzioni pubbliche o private,per quattro anni nei centri urbani e per tre nelle zone rurali,senza escludere la formazione nell'àmbito familiare,ma con accertamenti disposti dall'autorità statale. Il progetto prevedeva inoltre l'istituzione,presso ogni comune,d'una speciale giunta incaricata di gestire tutte le operazioni di spettanza dell'ente locale,mentre al sindaco era riservata la facoltà di far applicare misure coercitive a carico dei genitori renitenti.

Tuttavia,rileva con amarezza il Salas,tale proposta,affatto equilibrata,fu respinta con motivazioni speciose,contraddittorie,comunque di corto respiro:la paventata "minaccia alla libertà" dei genitori,la vantata esistenza di leggi adeguate,la constatazione dell'impossibilità di privare le famiglie del pur miserabile apporto economico dei fanciulli,infine il presunto carattere "socialista"o "statalista" del provvedimento.

Trascurando le obiezioni di comodo o palesemente insostenibili (come quella che denunciava la mancanza di formazione religiosa),al fondo delle riserve più meditate e plausibili c'era,secondo il Salas,un pregiudizio legato alla ideologia del "vecchio" liberalismo :"Por cierto no era el padre ignorante el que defendía aquel extraño concepto de la libertad individual.Eran los que creen que la educación puede,como otros negocios,adaptarse al sistema competitivo y a la ley de la oferta y demanda,olvidando,entre otras cosas,que los que más necesitan no son precisamente los que más ansían alcanzarla,que los que la costean no son los que la aprovechan,que la enseñanza dada por caridad no puede ponerse en parangón con la enseñanza igualitaria que da la sociedad por conveniencia

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12) *La educación primaria obligatoria*.

y deber".(13)

In conclusione, la soluzione proposta da Oyarzún appariva ancor valida e, semmai, se ne doveva ampliare la portata, esigendo la frequenza di quattro corsi annuali nelle zone rurali (dal settimo al dodicesimo anno d'età) e di cinque in quelle urbane (dal settimo al tredicesimo anno), prevedendo altresì la frequenza del sesto anno ( secondo della "superior") e forme d'educazione permanente ("enseñanza complementaria" ), obbligatoria per coloro i quali non avessero ottemperato alla legge dell'obbligo.

## 6. La formazione di base e "permanente". Proposte e prospettive d'innovazione.

La difesa dell'obbligo scolastico, sostenuta dal Salas con ardore e con viva partecipazione, mirava ad investire gli enti locali, congiuntamente con lo Stato, della responsabilità d'un provvedimento la cui attuazione egli riteneva indilazionabile, nella ferma convinzione, dettatagli dalla sua fede civica e dalle sue vedute filosofiche e pedagogiche, che l'avvenire del Cile dipendesse in larga misura dall'acquisizione alla cultura ed alla vita democratica d'una massa ingente d'emarginati.

Gli altri dieci capitoli in cui si articola El Problema Nacional si possono considerare ampliamento e completamento di questo tema fondamentale, pur nella ricchezza dei richiami, dei dati, delle proposte e dei giudizi ivi contenuti, tanto da offrire un panorama vivace ed interessante della problematica pedagogica del suo tempo e della situazione d'un settore rilevante della scuola cilena, alla vigilia del primo conflitto mondiale.

In tale direzione viene delineata (terzo capitolo) la prospettiva dell'"educación suplementaria" e "complementaria",(14) molto trascurate per non dire inesistenti: alla prima - negli intenti del Salas - si doveva affidare il compito della formazione di base degli adulti sfuggiti all'obbligo, mentre la seconda

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13) Op. cit., p.49.

14) Che rientrano nell'àmbito dell'educazione permanente.

doveva provvedere alla formazione professionale,costituendo così il quarto livello (dopo quello "superiore") del sistema primario. E,in ogni caso,bisognava coinvolgere gli enti locali,i comuni anche per la parte finanziaria,contrastando il regime instaurato paradossalmente dopo la legge sull'istruzione primaria del 1860,che in pratica aveva "centralizzato" tutto l'apparato amministrativo, caricando sul bilancio statale l'intero onere economico.(15)

Questo "centralismo",deleterio al reperimento delle risorse economiche,è denunciato con grande vigore e coerenza anche per quanto riguarda gli organi direttivi della primaria(16) facenti capo - come si è rilevato precedentemente - a un "onnipotente" ispettore centrale e ad alcuni ispettori periferici da lui dipendenti,soprattutto il primo carente di specifica preparazione pedagogica e soggetto alle pressioni politiche e partitiche,con conseguenze facilmente immaginabili.Bisogna mutare decisamente rotta - afferma il Salas - ed affiancare agli ispettori organi collegiali,che diano spazio alla competenza didattica,articolando altresì il servizio ispettivo in alcune circoscrizioni regionali.

Forse si può rimanere delusi dalle soluzioni prospettate circa il raccordo e la continuità fra i diversi ordini e gradi dell'apparato scolastico e,indubbiamente,le innovazioni curricolari proposte dal Salas oggi appaiono insufficienti e superate.(17) Tuttavia,qualora ci si ponga in prospettiva storica e si tenga conto della reale situazione della scuola cilena di allora,analizza-

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15)Cfr. cap. IV (Renta escolar).

16) Cap. V.

17)Cfr.,rispettivamente,i capp. VI e VII.Ad esempio,per quanto riguarda la strozzatura rappresentata dalla "scuola preparatoria" annessa ai licei,in concorrenza con il canale primario "normale",ne rimanda la soppressione,come pur sarebbe auspicabile in prospettiva "democratica",a tempi più maturi,quando le corrispondenti classi della primaria raggiungano un diverso livello (cfr.p. 108).

ta e descritta con una messe d'informazioni circostanziate e precise,si è indotti a riconoscere che anche su questi temi,come su quelli trattati successivamente - formazione professionale,preparazione e aggiornamento dei docenti,azione sociale ed "igienica" della scuola di base -(18), il Salas continua a dar prova di possedere idee chiare,spesso fondate sulla diretta conoscenza di istituzioni scolastiche d'avanguardia,(19) soprattutto d'essere dotato d'un sano "realismo",del senso delle cose possibili,evitando la fuga nell'utopia massimalista.

In conclusione,egli si rivela democratico sincero e deciso,(20) se vogliamo un po' sordo a istanze di tipo propriamente politico,ma non per questo meno impegnato nella denuncia dei mali e delle storture della società "liberale" del suo tempo particolarmente evidenti nel settore scolastico e formativo da lui considerato,comunque sempre pronto nell'indicare rimedi e soluzioni che,in non pochi casi, appaiono validi o degni di considerazione anche nell'attuale circostanza.

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18) Capp. VIII-XI.

19) A proposito di formazione preprofessionale e professionale,il Salas descrive minutamente la visita effettuata in una scuola modello di New York e fa ampi riferimenti alla corrispondente produzione libraria statunitense ed europea (pp. 130 segg).

20) Ne è chiara testimonianza anche il capitolo conclusivo (XII) intitolato,appunto,Educación y democracia.

# RESUME

Publiée en 1917,El problema nacional.Bases para la reconstrucción de nuestro sistema escolar primario,l'une des oeuvres les plus remarquables de Darío Salas,inspecteur général de l'éducation primaire,doyen de la Faculté de Philosophie de Santiago (Chili) et ensuite (1911) professeur à l'"Instituto Pedagógico" -,constitue l'expression mûre de sa personnalité,ouverte à différentes influences culturelles.

Dans la première partie,l'auteur trace une esquisse de l'état de la société et des structures scolaires dans son pays et aboutit à la conclusion que la classe politique libérale de son temps a trahi les espoirs légitimes des couches populaires:en 1917 on peut calculer qu'il existe 1.600.000 d'analphabètes, dont 400.000 enfants âges de six à quatorze ans. Si on les plaçait l'un après l'autre ils formaient une longue chaîne de plusieurs centaines de kilomètres!

Salas voit dans le caractère centralisateur du système chilien et surtout dans l'insuffisance o l'application defecteuse des lois l'une des causes principales de cette situation négative.

Le projet de loi présenté par le député Louis Oyarzún en 1910 peut encore constituer - note Salas - la base de la solution de ce vieux problème.Il prévoit une scolarité obligatoire durant les quatre ans de l'école primaire dans les centres urbaines,de trois ans dans les milieux ruraux et la possibilité de compléter la formation élémentaire à la maison.Il exige que les communes contribuent à la détermination du budget des écoles primaires qui sont situées dans leur territoire et que le maire reçoive le pouvoir d'intervenir dans l'application des lois contre les parents ou les tuteurs réticents.

Les autres chapitres du livre concernent une série de thèmes qui offrent un vaste panorama de l'école et de l'éducation au Chili à l'aube du vingtième siècle.Ce vaste tour d'horizon constitue une profonde source d'intérêt pour tous ceux qui se penchent sur les problèmes de l'éducation populaire et de base.

*Frontespizio dell'Opera omnia di Comenio (1592-1670).*

# BEGINNING OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF COLUMBIA

O. Negrin Fajardo - D. Soto Arango

## Introduction

After acquiring their freedom from spanish domination , the triumphant creoles led by Santander and Bolivar, from the very first moment, made education - programme one of the basical out fit of the new American Republic , though some great discrepancies grew in the choosing of methods, contents and objectives.

The process of conforting the country, the post-independence contradictions among the polititians past gradually to super-political and ideological structures. The fight inter different groups with juridical character, at times, and armed at others would contribuite to define the profile of the Liberals and the Conservatives.

Toward 1863, the Radical Liberals, strong enemies of the conservative groups, specially of the Catholic

Church, wanted to bring about an intensive structural reform, federalism and political freedom. Their educational policy planning became reality by means of the educational programme of 1870 (1), in which, for the first time, free and compulsory primary educational programme appeared. But this decision was not shared with the landholders and the clergy.

If the true aim of the Republic around 1870 was to be taken into consideration it is to be noticed that political and educational planning of the Radical Liberals was very advanced for that period, maybe, therefore in 1886, the Radicals were displaced from the government. After violent armed confrontation the Conservative party took hold of the power again elaborating a new constitution and eliminating, among others improvendits, the compulsory education.

The historical period known as the era of "the radicals" was characterized by infuriated civil wars and governments inestability, it was a struggle for the power between the two historical parties: the conservatives and the liberals; in other words, it was the fighting of the landholders together with the clergy for their large estates versus the liberals who wanted essential reforms to impel trade and industry in order to afford the maximum socio-economic development. To this effect, the liberals would take a series of steps amomgst of which stand out the slave abolition, the expropiation of church's lands and the separation of eclesiastic and civil estate powers (2).

The political group of the radicals formed by Bentham's philosophical system ascended into power with Tomás Cipriano Mosquera, in 1863, giving preference to primary education(3), defending the individual right and religious freedom.

## 1870 Educational Reform

In spite of the importance given to the educational section, after the libertador triumph, a census made in 1870 gave a rate of 90% of illiteracy. It proved that of the 563.000 children of the nation only 32.000 were attending a certain type of school(4).

The school reform of 1870 caused a significant advance in this field:" If in 1870 there were 32.000 pupils, this number became to 43, 463 in 1871 and 1876 to 80. 453, that means, the number of pupils increased more than 60%.(5)This quantitave growth was due partly, with no doubt, to the applying of the compulsory education's principle which was accompanied by the increasing of the number of schools and teachers. The objective of the radical government was to create 2500 new schools and to prepare 4000 teachers more the ones existing them(6).

Not withstanding those aims of 1870 Reform Decree were not achieved because of the frantic opposition of the clergy and the Conservative party who believed in such extent, that the Reform was against their economic interest and their political ideologies.

Through the se said Decree of 1870. It is noticed the great worriness of the radicals to place education at the same level as in other developed countries(7). In the primary school curriculum religion subject was removed (8). This fact, adding the principle of compulsory education completed by the acts. 93,94 and 95, which established fines to parents who did not allow their children to attend schools altered the mind of the clergy and the landholders.

The compulsory education was particulary an order which could not be admited by the landholders, because through it they lost at a blow their additional free labourer in their large states, specially on the farms for harvest or only because they would miss the labourers' children who used to take lunch for their fathers at the working place.

The theme of the primary compulsory education together with the radicals' anti-clerism were the crucial points attacked by the conservative opposition at the imposibility to reach at a resolution, legal and political confrontation became armed conflicts , the revolt of 1876 proclaimed by the church and the conservatives against the educational reform could not be calmed down by the agreement between Ancizar and Arbeláez (9).

In the Cauca, for example, the battle presented all of the characteristics of a religious cruzade, the rebels were shouting "down with schools" an they were carrying flags with the yellow and white Vatican's colours and also a bannor of the Holy Heart of Jesús(10).

In this state of affairs the reform only set into a motion for a short period of time (11) and was strongly attacked from the eclesiastical pitch. Among the latter the behaviour of bishop Bermúdez was to be pointed out. He went so far as to take drastic steps against the Reform, banning, in 1872, the catholics in his district, to register their children in public schools (state schools) on penalty of excomunion.

In 1874, he prohibited the students of the training college of education to take part in the Holy Week processions. The director of the College made him realized that his attitud would take the country into an out break of a war . He replied: "If the country declines and falls into wrackage, it doesn't matter, but the banner of religious would emerge victorious"(12).

So far as the conservatives are concerned just - to quote one more evidence, they were fighting to -- afford their objectives allying themselves tactically with the clergy: " If we should not take the pretext of religion we would not have had even half of the -- people fighting. We did not struggle for religious propose but for obtaining power to seize what the liberals got from us in 1867"(13).

It is true that the clergy and the conservatives were fighting together to take hold of power and religious' colour more effective to agglutinate the common people and the forces that were against progress around them.

From the liberals' point of view, compulsory education meant a substantial change for the nation "developing their talents"; therefore, their slogan was "every outstanding liberal ought to be an educator" (14).

### The development of the educational reform

Toward 1876 the liberals were divided after the death , in 1874, of Manuel Murillo, the leader of the liberals' unity. On the contrary, the conservatives were succeeded in unifying clear objectives to recover the power they had lost.

In 1880 Núñez was in charge of the Presidency of the government, during his term of office,1880-1882, an approach to the church was iniciated and the bills against it was abolished. In his second term of office,1884-1886, a complete change of policy took place.

He crossed carpet from radical to conservative, changing his entire policy and the Constitution of 1863 and enforcing conservatives ideas in politics and in education. He finished his office proclaiming the august reform of 1886 and the Concordat in December of the same year (15).

The changed aim of education programme was a constitutional bill:" The nation's educational policy was organized in accordance with the Catholic Churchand gave freehand to the Church to control education (16).

With such steps, compulsory education plan dropped. 1886 Constitution section 41 said:" National education must be organized and directed according to Catholic faith and public fund should pay the cost of free primary instruction but not compulsory schooling" (17).

1903 Education Reform followed the same policy; it is to be noticed that it had to do with the attack from the most rancid and obscurantist clerical ideology, supported by the established church typical of the Ancient Regime or the darkness and ignorance of Middle Ages, against any kind of liberal point of view in that period.

As we have above analysed, one of the neuralgic confrontating points between the conservatives and the liberals was the compulsory schooling. The raison why of such rancour was because the landholders wanted to maintain the semi-slavery peasant manpower tied up to their manor. If the infant labourers had to change cutlass and mattock for pencil and slate, how could their big ranches or estates survive ?.That is why, after seizing power, to prevent such situation, the landholders brought about a law saying:"Primary education should be sponsored by public fund the refore free but not compulsory(18). With the conservative counter-reformation primary education acquired much more class nature the difference between urban and rural scholarity was enphasized. The financing of primary education by the districts was unequal, in short, there was a great gap between the richest and the poorest territories.

The hegemonic conservative period begun by Núñez went up to 1930 without basic political educative changes . Only after this period the problem of compulsory schooling was newly raised at the grade of primary education.

## Conclusion

After its independence from spanish domination, the new republic of Colombia proposed national education development as one of its first task. Promoting free primary education, erradicating illiteracy in order to lay its freedom foundation.

In the middle of hards confrontations, at times legal, others armed, the two traditional political parties, the liberal and the conservative,were profiling their status. The radical wing of the liberal party took power in 1863 and seven years later, in 1870, educative reform was promulgated, in the Reform Act appeared for the first time, the compulsory schooling.

The compulsory education ordained by the liberals became the point of the argument confrontated both political system for many years. The landholders had lost their additional free labourer with such principles. They reached to an agreement with the clergy who were also discontented because of the lost of their real power which had orientated the liberal policy. The agreement above mentioned, would settle the attitud of both factions and crystalized a civil war that finally overthrown the radicals and brought about the failure of the progressive educative policy.

The conservative party went up to power in 1886 and the clergy consolidated their positions. Mediatly the constitutional reform abolished the compulsory education and the Church became again a controller of education. This situation would last until 1930 when the liberals returned to power and renew their purpose trying out the compulsory primary education.

## NOTES

(1) Organic Decree of Public Instruction. Nov. 1/1870 This Act was promulgated when Eustorgio Salgar was President of the Republic.

(2) Abolition of slavery took place in 1851 during the presidency of Jose Hilario López, who received directly influence of Bentham's economic policy. Books of reference: HERNANDEZ DE ALBA,G.:*Aspectos de la cultura en Colombia*. Universidad Nacional , Biblioteca Popular de Cultura Colombiana, 1947 ; SAFFORD,F.: *Aspectos del siglo XIX en Colombia*.Medellín, Edic. Hombre Nuevo,1977; DIAZ, F.:"Estado, Iglesia y desamortización", en *Manual de historia de Colombia*, t. II, Bogotá, Instituto Colombiano de Cultura, 1979.

(3) MOLINA,G.: *Las ideas liberales en Colombia*. 1849-1914. Bogotá, Editorial Tercer Mundo, 1979,pp. 103 y ss.

(4) See, MEYER,J.: "La educación primaria durante el Federalismo. La reforma escolar de 1870". *Revista Colombiana de Educación*, nº 3, I semestre, 1979 , p. 46.

(5) MOLINA,G.: *Las ideas liberales en Colombia*..., op. cit., p. 113.

(6) Ibidem

(7) "...to follow with special attention the education progress of other countries, ¡to adopt!, to put into project the applicable reforms to the schools of the nation". Chapter one of 1870 Public Instruction. Organic Decree.

(8) Primary schools was imparting the following subjects: reading, writing, arithmetic, legal system

of weight and measure, first principles of spanish language, composition and recitation, general sanitary elements, geography and national history. In each school there was also a chanting classroom. - See art. 38 Organic Decree, op. cit..

(9) Vicente Arbeláez, archbishop of Bogotá, personal friend of the radical President Salgar, supported the organic decree, although he was against his - anticlericalism and thought that popular education was essential for the "civilization" in Colombia. For his own part, Manuel Ancizar was the secretary of internal and external affairs. From the first months of 1876 president Parra predicted the agreement Arbeláez-Ancízar, which was published june 20th and was the first formal pact between the church and the state from 1860. In spite of that the convention created the bases of understanding between both powers, it had not a practical result and the war broke out.

(10) See HOENIGSBURG: *Las fronteras de los partidos*. Bogotá, 1953, p.107. One of the rebel's bannor expresed the slogan:"Libertad de conciencia,tolerancia a todos los cultos, educación cristiana, respeto por las creencias de la mayoría". See BRICEÑO,M.: *La revolución en Bogotá*. Bogotá, 1947,p.2.

(11) They tried to go ahead with the reform during radical governments of E. Salgar(1870-1872), Murillo Toro(1872-1874) y S. Pérez(1874-1876).

(12) See MEYER,J.:"La educación primaria durante el Federalismo...",art. cit.,p.53. Also, QUIJANO WALLIS,J.M.: *Memoria: autobiográficas, históricas, políticas y de carácter social*. Bogotá,1919

(13) FRANCO,C.: *Apuntamientos para la historia: la guerra de 1876-1877*. Bogotá, 1877.

(14) MOLINA,G.: *Las ideas liberales en Colombia*, op. cit.,p. 108.

(15) The Reform was promulgated in August 5th 1886 - the Concordat in December 31st of the same year; both principles imposed the conservative policy in religion and in education, iniciating in that way the conservative hegemonic period which was to be prolongated until 1930.

(16) OSPINA VAZQUEZ, L.: *Industria y protección en Colombia*. Bogotá, 1955, pp.300-317.

(17) HERNANDEZ DE ALBA,G.: *Aspectos de la cultura en Colombia*. Bogotá, Biblioteca Popular Colombiana, Universidad Nacional, 1947, p.61.

(18) Ley 39 de 1903 sobre Instrucción Pública,art. 3°
This law was also known as Antonio José Uribe's educative reform.

## SUMMARY

After its independence from spanish domination, the new republic of Colombia proposed national education development as one of its first task. Promoting free primary education, erradicating illiteracy in order to lay its freedom foundation.

The historical period known as the era of "the radicals" was characterized by infuriated civil wars and governments inestability, it was a struggle for the power between the two historical parties: the conservatives and the liberals; in other words, it was the fighting of the landholders together with the clergy for their large estates versus the liberals who wanted essential reforms to impel trade and industry in order to afford the maximum socio-economic development To this effect, the liberals would take a series of steps amongst of which stand out the slave abolition, the expropiation of church's lands and the separation of eclesiastic and civil estate powers.

The political group of the radicals formed by Bentham's philosophical system ascended into power with Tomás Cipriano Mosquera, in 1863, giving preference to primary education, defending the individual right and religious freedom.

In the middle of hards confrontations, at times legal, others armed, the two traditional political parties, the liberal and the conservative, were profiling their status. The radical wing of the liberal party took power in 1863 and seven yeras later, in 1870 , educative reform was promulgated, in the Reform Act appeared for the first time the compulsory schooling.

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# L'OBLIGATION EDUCATIVE EN FRANCE DES ORIGINES A NOS JOURS

## Paul Gerbod

L'obligation éducative, telle qu'elle existe en France, en 1986, a derrière elle une longue histoire, et notre propos vise à en retracer le long et difficile cheminement dans son environnement politique, socio-économique et culturel.

## - INCERTITUDES ET CONTRADICTIONS -

Jusque dans les années 1880, l'obligation éducative se définit à la fois comme nécessaire et sélective. Elle ne s'impose dans les faits que de manière épisodique et limitée. Elle est néanmoins pressentie comme un idéal toujours plus proche et accessible.

Dès le XVIè siècle, l'Humanisme, est sensible à la nécessité d'une instruction à la fois morale et intellectuelle pour tous. La Réforme contribue à fortifier l'idée d'obligation. Celle-ci s'impose dans les milieux protestants et catholiques pour des raisons essentiellement religieuses.

Elle est aussi considérée comme une nécessité technique qui commande l'accès à diverses professions. Depuis le Moyen-Age, les Universités se sont multipliées en Europe et en particulier en France. Les grades qu'elles délivrent (le baccalauréat, la licence, le doctorat ou la maîtrise) sont indispensables pour embrasser les carrières juridiques, médicales ecclésiastiques et enseignantes. Pour élargir le recrutement estudiantin, des bourses d'études sont même créées par l'Eglise, des collectivités locales et des particuliers.

Le principe de gratuité scolaire s'enracine plus profondément au XVIIè siècle dans le cadre de la reconquête catholique avec la création de congrégations enseignantes et la fondation d'écoles de charité (surtout dans les paroisses urbaines). De leur côté, les communautés protestantes favorisent l'ouverture d'écoles primaires. Le pouvoir politique, dans la lutte qu'il engage contre "la Religion Prétendue Réformée" prend d'ailleurs conscience, au delà de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes en 1685, du danger que représente l'instruction protestante. Il impose ainsi par deux ordonnances successives en 1695 et en 1698, l'obligation pour les enfants de religion réformée de fréquenter les écoles soumises à la surveillance du clergé catholique. Dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIè siècle l'obligation affleure dans divers projets pour une "Education Nationale" comme celui de la Chalotais en 1763 et dans quelques cahiers de doléances rédigés à l'occasion des élections aux Etats-Généraux en 1789. Les évenements révolutionnaires contribuent à faire progresser l'idée d'obligation. Ainsi les décrets des 3 et 14 septembre 1791 précisent qu'il sera crée "une instruction publique commune à tous les citoyens et gratuite à l'égard des parties d'enseignement indispensables à tous les hommes ..." Le projet d'une instruction obligatoire est repris par le conventionnel Lepeletier de Saint-Fargeau en 1793 et, en décembre 1793, Danton propose même que tous les enfants soient élevés et éduqués aux frais de la République. La Convention décide par la loi du 29 frimaire an II (19 décembre 1793) que l'instruction sera désormais obligatoire pour tous les enfants de six à huit ans sous peine d'amende et de privation des droits civiques pour les parents.

Avec le Consulat et l'Empire, l'idée d'obligation éducative s'estompe. Elle s'impose surtout pour l'exercice d'un certain nombre de professions. Les grades universitaires deviennent indispensables (même si les exceptions sont encore nombreuses) pour entrer dans l'administration dans la carrière des armes (l'école de Saint-Cyr) et pour les professions médicales, juridiques et écclésiastiques.

Cette conception utilitaire et élitique de l'obligation éducative est rejetée après 1815, quand le ministre Decazes, par l'ordonnance du 29 février 1816, précise que les enfants "doivent être appelés dans les écoles ..." sous le contrôle du maire. La résurgence de l'idée d'obligation affleure dans la loi du 28 juin 1833 (dite loi Guizot) qui organise pour la première fois une instruction primaire publique, impose la gratuité pour les indigents et la construction d'une école dans chaque commune.

Quelques années plus tard, la loi du 22 mars 1841 qui règlemente le travail des femmes et des enfants dans les manufactures souligne la nécessité pour les patrons de ne pas priver les enfants qu'ils emploient des bienfaits de l'instruction. De leur côté, divers socialistes utopiques comme Fourier et Considérant développent le projet d'une instruction commune, gratuite et obligatoire tandis que deux universitaires, Victor Cousin et Saint-Marc Girardin, de retour d'Allemagne, vantent les systèmes d'instruction élémentaire d'Outre-Rhin où l'obligation est devenue une réalité. Dans un contexte devenu plus favorable, le ministre Carnot élabore, en 1848, un nouveau projet d'instruction primaire qui prévoit l'établissement de la gratuité et de l'obligation. Dans le préambule de la Constitution de 1848, il est d'ailleurs affirmé que "le devoir de l'Etat" est de "mettre l'instruction à la portée de tous". Mais la loi Falloux, en mars 1850, coupe court au progrès de l'obligation éducative.

La deuxième moitié du siècle dernier est décisive. Pressions et appels se multiplient en faveur de l'obligation scolaire, dès les années 50 et ce mouvement d'opinion se renforce dans la décennie suivante. Dans ce climat nouveau, le ministre Duruy propose à l'Empereur, en 1865, une réforme de l'instruction élementaire dans laquelle figurent obligation et gratuité. Mais il est désavoué par ses collègues ministres et abandonné par Napoléon III.

La défaite de 1870-71 renforce néanmoins l'offensive en faveur de l'obligation. L'Assemblée Nationale est saisie d'une série de propositions de loi en faveur de l'obligation. Elles sont rejetées par la majorité conservatrice et royaliste tandis que se multiplient les pamphlets, les articles de presse hostiles à l'instauration de l'obligation.

Le destin de l'obligation ainsi politisée dépend désormais du rapport de force entre la Droite monarchiste et l'opposition républicaine. Celle-ci triomphe aux élections d'octobre 1877. La nouvelle majorité engage alors la lutte contre l'Eglise enseignante considérée comme hostile à la démocratie républicaine. Dans le cadre de cette stratégie anticléricale est élaborée, discutée et votée la loi du 28 mars 1882 qui fonde enfin l'obligation scolaire. Il s'agit d'un compromis qui doit tenir compte des résistances de l'opposition conservatrice, des mises en garde du clergé et d'une certaine indifférence ou même méfiance d'une grande partie de l'opinion. Ainsi la loi de 1882 laisse aux pères de famille le droit de choisir pour leurs enfants l'école publique, l'école privée ou une éducation à domicile ; des commissions scolaires municipales sont chargées de veiller à l'inscription des élèves et de contrôler leur assiduité. En cas de non observation de l'obligation, les sanctions prévues sont très légères (avertissement, affichage des défaillants, éventuellement amendes fixées par le juge de paix).

### - LES COMBATS POUR L'OBLIGATION - (1883-1986)

Au cours du siècle suivant, l'environnement se révèle toujours plus favorable à l'extension de l'obligation éducative. Sa cause est néanmoins, loin d'être gagnée ; distorsions, décalages et contradictions subsistance.

Dès les années 80, le cas des enfants étrangers se trouve posé et la jurisprudence en la matière reste assez floue sinon pour les enfants habitant l'Algérie (décret du 13 février 1883). De même, l'extension de l'obligation à l'enfance "anormale" bien qu'évoquée à plusieurs reprises dans les congrès de la ligue de l'enseignement se heurte à des difficultés. Dans les années 1900, une campagne d'opinion, soutenue par des associations philanthropiques (le Patronage de l'Enfance, l'Union pour le sauvetage de l'Enfance ...) et quelques personnalités du milieu médical se développe. Ce n'est qu'en 1904 qu'une commission parlementaire présidée par Léon Bourgeois est créée ; elle doit proposer des mesures pour scolariser diverses catégories d'enfants "anormaux". Cette procédure parlementaire aboutit au vote de la loi du 15 avril 1909 qui envisage la création de classes ou d'écoles dites de "perfectionnement " dirigées par des maîtres "spécialisés". Par ailleurs, le problème des apprentis et des jeunes travailleurs âgés de moins de treize ans ne trouve pas de solution véritable. Une loi de 1874 s'était bornée à reprendre les dispositions de la loi de 1841 en imposant une fréquentation journalière minimale de deux heures. Il s'agit d'une prescription fort mal respectée dans les milieux de l'artisanat et de l'industrie. De plus, tout enfant pourvu du CEP même s'il est âgé de moins de treize ans peut être légalement employé.

Plus grave et plus lourd d'ambiguïté est le contrôle même de la fréquentation. Les commissions scolaires municipales fonctionnent mal et les sanctions prévues sont beaucoup trop anodines.

L'Entre-deux guerres se révèle assez peu favorable aux progrès de l'obligation. En 1930, il n'y a encore qu'une vingtaine de classes de perfectionnement pour les enfants anormaux(il s'agit surtout de caractériels légers, d'aveugles et de sourds ou muets). L'obligation n'est étendue aux enfants étrangers qu'en 1936. Néanmoins, la loi Astier sur l'enseignement professionnel appliquée depuis 1919 a favorisé la formation des jeunes travailleurs, la mesure la plus importante est sans nul doute la prolongation de l'obligation à quatorze ans grâce aux efforts du ministre Jean Zay, en 1936.

Le problème le plus grave reste celui de la fréquentation scolaire. En 1929, l'on estime que le taux d'absentéisme dans les écoles publiques est encore de l'ordre de 10 % des effectifs. En 1933, le taux d'analphabétisation est de 25 % pour les conscrits. Les commissions scolaires municipales sont supprimées par la loi du 11 août 1936 et l'administration de l'Education Nationale (les inspecteurs primaires) est désormais chargée de contrôler l'assiduité. Cette mesure ne semble pas porter entièrement ses fruits car en 1942 le ministère envisage d'alourdir les sanctions et de supprimer les allocations familiales des familles défaillantes.

Au delà de la Deuxième guerre mondiale, les progrès de l'obligation apparaissent plus décisifs. Dès 1947, le plan Langevin-Wallon propose une réforme profonde du système éducatif en se fondant sur une prolongation de la scolarité à dix-huit ans. Il est abandonné dans la mesure où il se heurte à des résistances sérieuses à la fois dans les milieux de l'enseignement et hors de l'enseignement. Il faut attendre encore plus de dix ans pour que la scolarité soit rendue obligatoire jusqu'à seize ans par l'ordonnance du 6 juillet 1959. Plus révolutionnaire à certains égards est la mise en place dans les années 1970 de l'éducation permanente.

Parallèlement, l'Etat se préoccupe de l'enfance inadaptée. Dès 1949, le rapport Gallet recense environ 300.000 déficients physiques, tuberculeux, infirmes, épileptiques, aveugles, sourds-muets. Il s'y ajoute les enfants de nomades et de mariniers. Des mesures s'imposent et un projet de loi relatif à l'éducation de l'enfance inadaptée est élaborée en 1951. En fait, ce n'est qu'une vingtaine d'années plus tard que ce problème trouve une réelle solution. Il faut une série de campagnes d'opinion à partir des années 60 pour que la classe politique se mette de nouveau à l'ouvrage. Un nouveau projet de loi est mis en chantier et la procédure parlementaire amorcée en 1974 aboutit à la promulgation de la loi du 30 juin 1975 dite "loi d'orientation en faveur des personnes handicapées". L'article 4 de cette loi prévoit l'extension de l'obligation éducative aux enfants et adolescents handicapés. Cette éducation fondée sur une pédagogie particulière combinée à une action psychologique, médicale ou paramédicale doit être adaptée à chaque catégorie d'handicapés ; elle peut être dispensée dans des classes normales ou dans des établissements spécialisés publics ou privés ; elle est gratuite et donne lieu au versement d'allocations d'éducation spéciale.

Tandis que se succèdent toute une série de mesures règlementaires ou législatives qui visent à étendre et à moduler l'obligation éducative, un effort se déploie contre la non-fréquentation et l'absentéisme. Le taux d'absentéisme est encore de l'ordre de 8 % en 1948-49. Aussi la loi du 22 mai 1946 décide de supprimer les allocations familiales en cas de non-fréquentation. Cette mesure draconienne est renouvelée et précisée par une circulaire de 1949. Au delà des années 50, il apparaît que l'obligation soit réellement entrée dans les moeurs.

On débouche même sur des situations apparemment paradoxales. Au fil des années, l'obligation n'a plus à être imposée au nom des intérêts de l'enfant et de la collectivité nationale, elle s'impose aux familles elles-mêmes.

Notamment au delà de la Première guerre mondiale, l'éducation se révèle à l'opinion comme une composante majeure de la promotion sociale ou le moyen d'éviter un quelconque déclassement (dans le cas des familles bourgeoises). Les diplômes de l'enseignement supérieur (en particulier le baccalauréat), les brevets professionnels, la réussite aux concours d'entrée dans les Grandes Ecoles commandent l'accès à un nombre toujours plus grand de professions. C'est entre les deux guerres que la conquête des diplômes commence à se généraliser. Dans l'intervalle l'augmentation des effectifs du second degré et de l'enseignement supérieur témoigne des progrès de l'obligation "volontaire". De 1920 à 1945, les effectifs de l'enseignement secondaire public s'élèvent de

175.000 à 310.000. Il s'y ajoute ceux des cours complémentaires qui passent de 50.000 à 152.000. L'inflation des étudiants est moins forte dans l'enseignement supérieur ; elle est néanmoins incontestable en s'élevant de 45.200 à 97.000. De même dans l'entre deux guerres, l'enseignement technique a connu des progrès évidents et les cours professionnels se sont multipliés dans les domaines les plus divers. Les bacheliers sont également devenus plus nombreux : l'on en recensait 9.900 en 1920, ils sont près de 29.000 en 1945.

L'obligation scolaire s'impose encore plus largement au delà de la deuxième guerre mondiale. Dans les années 50, se produit "l'explosion scolaire". Alors qu'en 1950 l'enseignement secondaire regroupait 563.000 élèves dans le secteur public ; celui-ci en accueille plus de 2 millions en 1965 ; depuis lors, ce processus inflationniste s'est développer . Dans l'enseignement supérieur, il y avait en 1950, 140.000 étudiants ; ils sont 440.000 en 1965 et plus de 800.000 en 1980-1986. La recherche de l'obligation s'est d'autre part étendue au niveau préscolaire et l'enseignement public (comme l'enseignement privé) a dû faire face à un accroissement spectaculaire de la demande. L'on comptait dans ce secteur 1226.000 élèves en 1951 ; ils sont déjà 1.780.000 en 1965. L'obligation scolaire autrefois imposée par l'Etat en arrive à s'imposer d'elle-même.

Mais cette banalisation de l'obligation éducative implique qu'elle soit à la mesure de l'épanouissement total des aptitudes de l'enfant, de l'adolescent et même de l'adulte (dans le cas de l'éducation permanente). Sur ce plan, avec des décalages importants- le système éducatif français tend, en l'espace de deux siècles, à diversifier et à élargir les contenus de ses enseignements. L'on peut, de ce point de vue, se référer à un certain nombre d'exemples concrets. Dans l'instruction primaire, à partir du Second Empire, aux bases minimales que représentent la lecture, l'écriture et le calcul s'ajoutent d'autres disciplines comme l'histoire et la géographie, les sciences et l'instruction civique et morale. L'on encourage également la culture physique, le chant et les travaux manuels. Plus récemment, le plan "Informatique pour tous" vise à initier les enfants scolarisés dans l'enseignement public au langage informatique considéré comme la clé de voûte de la communication de demain. Dans l'enseignement secondaire, jsuqu'en 1840, les langues vivantes, la musique et l'éducation physique étaient considérées comme des "arts d'agrément" facultatifs. Les langues vivantes, puis la gymnastique, le dessin et la musique en arrivent à s'intégrer à part entière dans les programmes et les horaires à partir de la fin de la Monarchie de juillet et du Second Empire. En 1936, apparaissent les loisirs dirigés. Cette politique scolaire qui cherche à favoriser les aptitudes intellectuelles et manuelles de l'adolescent se marque également dans l'enseignement technique mis en place dès la Monarchie de juillet (avec l'enseignement secondaire spécial).

L'on retrouve ce processus d'adaptation dans l'enseignement supérieur avec la multiplication des écoles d'ingénieurs et de cadres commerciaux, l'insertion de nouvelles disciplines dans les universités et très récemment la recherche de "nouvelles filières" (les maîtrises des sciences et techniques) pour occuper des créneaux inédits de l'emploi.

A vouloir retracer le long cheminement, en France, de l'obligation éducative, un certain nombre de conclusions s'imposent. En l'espace de deux siècles, l'on a passé d'une obligation imposée aux familles à une obligation qui s'impose désormais à celles-ci. C'est là le résultat d'une lente maturation des mentalités et d'un ensemble de mutations économiques sociales et culturelles. Parallèlement, cette obligation ressentie progressivement comme obligatoire s'est étendue dans sa durée, englobant aujourd'hui aussi bien l'âge préscolaire que les études supérieures et même la vie adulte. Elle s'est d'autre part diversifiée dans ses contenus. Ceuxi-ci sont considérés à l'origine comme un ensemble de connaissances minimales à l'usage d'une culture de base commune se sont efforcés d'inclure progressivement des savoirs indédits, plus spécialisés offrant aux clientèles éducatives non seulement une culture plus large et plus approfondie mais aussi de plus grandes possiblités de choix. Il faut enfin souligner que si dans l'histoire de l'obligation, le rôle de l'Etat a été capital (et l'est encore aujourd'hui), l'initiative privée, très tôt, a contribué de manière incontestable aux progrès et à la diversification de l'obligation. Elle est, dans le cadre du pluralisme scolaire et culturel, encore aujourd'hui un facteur permanent de stimulation et d'invention, à la recherche d'une obligation meilleure et plus adéquate.

## ORIENTATION BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE

L'histoire de l'obligation éducative n'a pas fait l'objet à ce jour d'ouvrage de synthèse. Il convient dans ces conditions de se référer.

- Aux diverses histoires de l'éducation telles que l'Enseignement en France (1800-1967) d'Antoine Prost (Paris, 1968), l'Histoire de l'enseignement (1789-1965) de Félix Ponteil (Paris 1966) et l'Histoire générale de l'enseignement et de l'éducation en France, tommes 3 et 4 (de F. Mayeur et Antoine Prost, Paris, 1981).

- A des sources imprimées contemporaines comme de l'enseignement obligatoire d'Eugène Rendu (1853). De la nécessité de rendre l'instruction primaire obligatoire de Charles Robert (1861), l'Ecole de Jules Simon (1864), l'Instruction primaire et obligatoire et non gratuite de H. Rozy (1870), le Nouveau dictionnaire de pédagogie de F. Buisson (1911), obligation et fréquentation scolaires de Mazeran (1911), l'obligation scolaire en France de Jacques Hamelin (1931), l'Obligation scolaire de Robert Brichet (1949) ou l'Obligation scolaire en France de J. Debiesse (1951).

- Aux recueils de lois et règlements scolaires (cf le bulletin officiel du ministère de l'Instruction Publique (1850-1932), au Journal Officiel de la République Française (pour les discussions parlementaires et les textes législatifs de 1870 à nos jours

- A des études récentes sur la fréquentation scolaire (cf Jacques Gavoille à propos du Doubs, 1981 et in l'Offre d'école, Paris (1983) l'alphabétisation (Furet F et J Ozouf) et l'article de Grew, Harrigan et Whitmey, la scolarisation en France, 1829-1906 in Annales ESC, janvier-Février 1984.

## RESUME

L'obligation éducative, longtemps appelée obligation scolaire ou instruction obligatoire a derrière elle une fort longue histoire, accidentée de nombreuses péripéties. Evoquée à l'époque de la Renaissance, elle tend à s'imposer au XVIIè siècle pour des raisons politiques et religieuses (le protestantisme, considéré comme un danger pour l'unité monarchique) ; elle prend plus d'importance au XVIIIè siècle dans le mouvement philosophique ; la Révolution de 89 aurait dû l'établir de manière solide et définitive.

Il n'en fût rien en dépit de projets d'Education Nationale et de diverses mesures législatives. Ce n'est qu'à partir de la Restauration que l'obligation resurgit dans un contexte plus favorable, politique, idéologique et socio-économique, elle est officiellement proclamée par la loi en 1862 pour l'instruction primaire. Depuis lors, elle n'a cessé de s'étendre grâce à la prolongation de la scolarité et à la lutte contre l'absentéisme des élèves. Mais le plus étonnant est qu'IMPOSEE à l'origine par l'ETAT, elle s'IMPOSE D'ELLE MEME (surtout dans les cinquante dernières années, dans la mesure où l'éducation est considérée par l'opinion comme la clé de voûte de la réussite sociale et professionnelle.

# L'INTRODUCTION DE L'OBLIGATION SCOLAIRE DANS L'ALLEMAGNE PROTESTANTE DU XVIe AU XVIIIe SIECLE.
## UN PROBLEME D'INTERPRETATION ET DE MESURE

Jean-Luc Le Cam

SUMMARY:

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Compulsory education was early promulgated in most protestant countries of Germany but historians are divided over the real effect of these laws. In its first part, this paper deals with methodological problems in the interpretation of the sources which are used to follow the application of these dispositions. The second part presents the example of the dukedom of Brunswick where compulsory education was developped in three phases during whitch the signification of obligation changed.

La plupart des principautés allemandes ont vu proclamer le principe d'obligation scolaire entre la fin du XVIe siècle et le début du XVIIIe siècle 1). Cette relative précocité concorde bien avec ce que l'on sait du développement de la scolarisation et de l'alphabétisation dans le Nord de l'Europe et dans les régions protestantes en particulier.

Elle pose cependant quelques problèmes d'interprétation ainsi que le montrent les divergences de l'historiographie sur ce sujet. Les historiens de l'éducation ont longtemps oscillé entre deux pôles qu'on nous pardonnera de présenter sommairement ainsi : pour les premiers la Réforme a constitué un tournant fondamental en proclamant la nécessité pour chaque fidèle d'une instruction minimale lui permettant de lire la Bible ; la mise en place des nouvelles structures ecclésiastiques se serait accompagnée de celle d'un réseau scolaire chargé de répondre à cette nouvelle exigence. L'obligation scolaire est donc dans ce scénario fille ou à la rigueur petite-fille de la Réforme. Cette thèse a été abondamment développée par l'historiographie protestante et par les érudits locaux, pasteurs ou enseignants, qui ont exalté le passé de leur école avec piété filiale en s'appuyant essentiellement sur les sources législatives et règlementaires 2).

En face, les sceptiques : l'obligation a certes été proclamée relativement tôt mais ne fut pendant longtemps qu'un voeu pieux - c'est bien ici le cas de le dire. La redondance des législations et les plaintes des contrôleurs divers seraient le révélateur d'une très mauvaise application de l'obligation scolaire jusqu'à une époque tardive, allant selon les auteurs de la fin du XVIIIe au début du XIXe siècle 3). Entre ces deux extrêmes existent bien sûr des points de vue intermédiaires mais qui n'échappent pas non plus toujours à certaines illusions d'optique véhiculées par ces deux courants.

Car l'histoire de l'introduction de l'obligation scolaire en Allemagne pose un délicat problème d'interprétation qui demande une grande rigueur dans la définition des concepts et des méthodes employées pour la décrire et la mesurer. Nous voudrions ici, en nous fondant sur notre propre expérience du terrain et sur des études analogues indiquer quelques écueils à éviter, quelques méthodes et voies de recherche que nous croyons plus fructueuses puis présenter schématiquement comme exemple le scénario de l'introduction de l'obligation scolaire dans le duché de Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, tel que nos recherches nous le font apparaître 4).

## 1) REFLEXIONS METHODOLOGIQUES

Nous n'insisterons pas sur les faiblesses d'une histoire de l'obligation scolaire prenant pour argent comptant les dispositions des sources règlementaires et législatives. Il est évident qu'il faut toujours essayer de contrôler dans quelle mesure les textes sont appliqués. L'histoire de l'éducation fourmille de programmes et de plans d'étude qui ont mobilisé abusivement l'attention des historiens alors qu'ils n'ont eu que peu d'incidence sur la réalité scolaire. Les ordonnances rédigées par Bugenhagen pour la ville puis le duché de Brunswick en 1528 et 1543 prévoyaient la création d'écoles de filles dans la plupart des villes. Cette disposition remarquable pour l'époque et souvent citée n'a jamais été suivie d'effet 5).

La vérification s'impose donc et c'est bien ce que pensaient les contemporains eux-mêmes qui ont souvent conçu, en même temps que ces lois, des dispositifs de contrôle de leur application : visites pastorales, inspections scolaires, surveillance par les autorités locales. Les sources issues de ces contrôles doivent cependant être interprétées avec prudence. Elles ont une tendance naturelle à souligner les défauts (c'est leur rôle) et à passer sous silence ce qui marche bien ou à peu près. Ainsi les procès verbaux de la **Kirchenvisitation** menée par le directeur du consistoire de Wolfenbüttel, Joachim Lütkeman, en 1651-54, évoquent-ils en détail les villages où l'école connaît des problèmes (absentéisme important, financement insuffisant, inconduite du maître, etc...) alors qu'ils expédient d'un trait de plume et sans un mot pour l'école, les localités où les gens connaissent tous leur catéchisme et dont on sait par d'autres sources qu'elles ont bien un instituteur ou un sacristain enseignant[6)]. On voit ce qu'un lecteur peu attentif déduirait de telles indications. Qui plus est, l'attirance pour le pittoresque de certaines situations décrites dans ce genre de rapport en font des exemples abusivement cités par les historiens. A trop céder à cette tentation, on ne présente plus que bâtiments délabrés, classes désertes, maîtres ivrognes et ignorants, estropiant leurs élèves à force de coups. Tous ces cas sont certes authentiques mais leur réunion à des fins d'illustration de la vie scolaire quotidienne crée une image tout à fait déformée de la réalité.

L'impression donnée par ces sources est d'autant plus mauvaise que l'historien y cherche la confirmation (ou l'infirmation) du changement radical qu'aurait provoqué la nouvelle législation. Or en ce domaine, il ne saurait y avoir de rupture brutale entre un "avant" et un "après". Un défaut classique consiste à privilégier l'importance du moment que l'on étudie tout en sous estimant la période antérieure : la Réforme aurait tout inventé en matière scolaire après un Moyen Age barbare, l'Aufklärung aurait enfin créé l'école allemande populaire après des siècles d'obscurantisme religieux, etc... Ce défaut est encore plus fréquent dans le cas de l'obligation scolaire qui a une réputation positive et valorisante pour ses promulgateurs. Sans rien retirer à leur mérite, il convient quand même de faire cette remarque de bon sens : on ne peut décréter une telle mesure sans que soient réunies certaines conditions comme l'existence d'une infrastructure scolaire suffisante et la scolarisation déjà effective d'un bon pourcentage de la population.

A ce titre, l'obligation légale de scolarisation même quand elle n'est pas encore parfaitement réalisée, est autant un aboutissement qu'un point de départ. Une étude remarquable de l'alphabétisation de la marche côtière du duché d'Oldenburg[7)] montre que dans cette région le réseau des écoles rurales est déjà en place dès le milieu du XVIIe siècle et que, au moment de la promulgation de l'obligation scolaire en 1706, une grande majorité de la population est déjà scolarisée et alphabétisée. Même si nous sommes là en présence d'une région particulièrement précoce car favorisée par le contexte économique et social, la leçon vaut sans doute avec un décalage chronologique pour le reste de l'Allemagne.

Voilà pourquoi il importe d'essayer de connaître le mieux possible l'état du réseau scolaire dans la période encadrant la promulgation de l'obligation scolaire. Ce travail n'est certes pas aisé à faire pour le milieu de l'époque moderne car il faut souvent descendre au niveau de sources locales, éparpillées dans les archives. Mais c'est à ce prix qu'on pourra en avoir une vision réaliste. Le recours à la quantification et à la cartographie, et la confrontation de témoignages d'origines diverses nous semble une bonne méthode pour éviter l'éparpillement et dépasser l'exploitation impressioniste de ces sources.

C'est ainsi que la cartographie des résultats de l'examen de catéchisme lors de la Kirchenvisitation de 1651-54 nous a permis de déceler la sous-représentation des villages bien scolarisés dans ces rapports, ce que d'autres sources nous permettent de confirmer. Cette carte apporte par ailleurs des indications intéressantes sur le lien entre école et économie (les villages les mieux catéchisés sont essentiellement situés dans la région très fertile de la Börde). La structure des paroisses (taille, nombre de trêves ou d'écarts) semble ainsi jouer un rôle.

En ce qui concerne l'appréciation de l'application de la législation, il faut se garder de l'anachronisme qui consiste à plaquer les institutions du XIXe siècle sur les formes scolaires de l'époque moderne ou à se contenter de reprendre les appelations de l'époque sans les vérifier. La distinction classique entre école allemande - qu'on associe au concept d'école primaire- et école latine - l'équivalent du secondaire - donne une vue bien imparfaite du système scolaire réel. Dans les grandes villes, l'école latine constitue une filière bien à part avec ses propres petites classes où l'on passe très rapidement à l'enseignement du latin. Dans les petites villes du Brunswick, les premières classes de ces écoles, comme en témoigne la grande disproportion entre les effectifs, assurent en fait l'enseignement "primaire" de l'allemand. On voit donc la difficulté à cerner a priori ce qui relève du champ de l'obligation scolaire par opposition aux très anciennes structures de formation des élites. C'est pourquoi il serait souvent nécessaire de construire pour toute étude de la scolarisation à l'age moderne une typologie des écoles a posteriori, élaborée à partir d'un certain nombre de critères réellement observés (effectifs des maîtres et des élèves, saisonnalité de l'enseignement, contenu, contexte, etc). L'analyse factorielle des correspondances, en regroupant les écoles de même profil, constitue dans ce travail une aide précieuse. Les essais que nous avons pu faire sur le Brunswick portent, il est vrai, essentiellement sur les écoles dites latines, mais ils nous ont permis de dégager un profil d'école mixte mi-allemande, mi-latine qui, dans le contexte de petites villes (Ackerbürgerstädte), sont un instrument important de l'obligation scolaire.

Enfin, on ne saurait se contenter de relever sans plus de précision et de nuance la mauvaise application de la loi, l'"absentéisme", "l'analphabétisme", "la résistance des paysans".

Scolarisation et alphabétisation sont en effet des phénomènes qui méritent une mesure moins frustre que la simple constatation d'une absence ou d'une présence. Nous avons retrouvé une comptabilisation des absences pendant le semestre d'hiver 1735/36 à l'école du bourg de Gittelde près du Harz[8] : près de la moitié des élèves ont manqué moins de 25 jours, 30 % entre 26 et 50 jours, 15 % de 51 à 100 jours, 4 % plus de 100 jours. Un rapport moins circonstancié se serait contenté de relever un absentéisme général alors que ces statistiques révèlent l'existence d'un fort contingent d'élèves relativement assidus, un groupe intermédiaire d'enfants "mi-scolarisés" et une petite minorité de réfractaires véritables.

Prenons maintenant le problème sous un autre aspect, celui de l'élève. S'il est évident que l'enfant qui manque plus de 25 et a fortiori 50 jours enfreint la loi d'obligation scolaire, peut-on cependant affirmer qu'il n'est "pas scolarisé", voire "analphabète" ? L'exemple de Gittelde nous suggère qu'il est toute sorte de degrés intermédiaires entre l'état "sauvage" et la scolarisation parfaite, continue et de longue durée. Même si la loi d'obligation n'est pas ainsi totalement respectée, on ne peut pas dire qu'elle soit sans effet dans la mesure où elle exerce une pression sur les parents qui doivent finalement concéder un peu du temps de travail infantile à l'école.

Il faudrait d'autre part éviter de parler des paysans face à l'école comme une masse sociale indifférenciée. Ces enfants que la loi veut contraindre appartiennent en grande majorité aux classes inférieures de la société rurale : petits paysans, journaliers, domestiques et valets. C'est ce que nous révèlent les travaux de Norden sur l'alphabétisation mais aussi, bien que de façon plus voilée, les examens de catéchisme lors des visites pastorales. A l'inverse, on constate que la paysannerie aisée et les artisans font un bien meilleur accueil à l'école quand ils ne la réclament pas eux-mêmes. En bref, le concept de demande sociale nous semble plus opératoire et plus riche que la simple notion de résistance pour expliquer les comportements face à l'école obligatoire.

Enfin l'appréciation du résultat de telles législations dépend de la norme et des buts que l'on se fixe : s'agit-il de l'apprentissage du catéchisme, de la lecture, ou aussi de l'écriture et du calcul ? L'école est-elle obligatoire toute l'année ou seulement l'hiver et combien d'heures par jour ? Les réponses à ces questions font souvent apparaître là aussi toute une scala de situations intermédiaires qui interdisent de parler seulement en terme de présence ou d'absence, de respect ou de non respect.

C'est pourquoi il faut essayer d'évaluer le mieux possible le travail fait dans ces écoles et son résultat. Autrement dit, à quoi oblige t-on exactement les enfants ? Car l'école allemande a sans doute étendu assez nettement son programme et ses exigences du XVIe siècle au XVIIIe siècle. L'idéal serait évidemment d'avoir une bonne connaissance des progrès de l'alphabétisation et des savoirs associés (écriture, calcul). Pour des raisons documentaires (absence de longues séries de signatures notamment) cette condition est rarement réalisée avant le XIXe siècle et il faut souvent se contenter d'appréciations globales telles qu'on peut les trouver dans les rapports de visites pastorales ou d'inspection scolaire.

## 2) L'EXEMPLE BRUNSWICKOIS

L'histoire scolaire du Brunswick telle que nous l'avons étudiée fait apparaître trois temps dans la progression de la notion puis de la pratique de l'obligation.

Le début du XVIe siècle est le moment des grandes déclarations d'intention. Bugenhagen, le réformateur de Brunswick (1528) puis de tout le duché (1543) pose l'éducation chrétienne des enfants comme une nécessité morale et religieuse fondamentale, mise au même niveau que le baptême. Les dispositions prises lors de la réforme définitive du duché en 1569 mettent en place un enseignement obligatoire du catéchisme au moins le dimanche. Les visites paroissiales de la fin du siècle font apercevoir les premiers effets de ces mesures. Si beaucoup de parents sont encore incultes, une proportion importante des enfants connaissent assez bien leur catéchisme. Cet enseignement, au début essentiellement dispensé par le pasteur, a pu être confié plus tard aux bedeaux dont c'est devenu une des fonctions principales. Parallèlement il s'est étendu à d'autres jours que le dimanche et a pris ainsi la forme d'une institution plus étoffée, nous dirions, d'une école. Nous n'avons malheureusement que peu de renseignements précis sur cette mutation. Mais nous pouvons dire que ce premier réseau d'écoles rurales s'est mis en place au tournant des deux siècles, profitant des derniers feux de la prospérité du début de l'âge moderne. Les résultats de cet enseignement peuvent certes nous paraître modestes : prières et questions de catéchisme apprises par coeur, un peu de lecture dans la Bible et le catéchisme de Luther dont il n'est pas sûr que les enfants faisaient tous un bagage pour la vie. Une mutation essentielle cependant s'était produite : le support de la religion devenait tout autant l'écrit que l'oral.

L'obligation scolaire officielle est décrétée sous le duc Auguste le jeune par la **Landesordnung** de 1647, confirmée par la **Schulordnung** de 1651. Tout enfant doit fréquenter l'école pendant l'hiver, y apprendre à prier, lire, écrire . Surtout, tous les parents d'enfants scolarisables devront payer l'écolage au maître du village, qu'ils envoient ou non leurs enfants à l'école. Des dispositions de contrôle furent prises (création d'une inspection générale des écoles, surveillance locale du clergé) et des sanctions prévues (à appliquer par les fonctionnaires ducaux les **Amtleute**) pour veiller à l'exécution de la loi. Il peut sembler paradoxal qu'elle ait été mise en place à la fin de la Guerre de Trente Ans, alors que les conditions économiques semblaient les plus contraires à l'effort financier que représentait pour les communautés et les familles cette obligation. En fait cette mesure est comprise et présentée par les autorités comme une réponse au traumatisme de la guerre, à ses conséquences désastreuses pour la morale et le tissu social. La reconstruction du pays passe d'abord par une reconstruction religieuse et morale que l'école est chargée d'entreprendre. Par ailleurs la guerre a renforcé l'Etat et le Prince par rapport aux autres pouvoirs, villes, nobles, clergé. Les nécessités de la reconstruction font qu'on se tourne vers lui pour lui demander aide. Cela lui permet une plus grande intervention dans différents domaines, dont l'éducation.

Une étude attentive du réseau scolaire vers 1650, au moment où le duc prend cette décision, montre cependant que celui-ci est déjà bien construit, même s'il faut encore l'étendre et le renforcer. Cette préparation s'est faite sous la pression du clergé local mais aussi sans doute avec le consentement d'une partie de la population (laboureurs, artisans) qui cherchait dans l'instruction des enfants un atout professionnel et une chance de promotion sociale.

L'application de la loi ne fut évidemment pas totale et immédiate. Certaines statistiques partielles nous donnent peu après sa publication, mais dans une région de résistance, des taux de scolarisation oscillant de 20 à 60 %. On devrait obtenir des résultats meilleurs dans des régions plus favorisées à la même date et dans tout le duché à la fin du siècle. Les inspections du début du XVIIIe siècle montrent que l'école est relativement bien fréquentée et qu'il ne reste plus d'enfants à n'avoir jamais été scolarisés.

En 1736 l'inspecteur Harenberg précise dans un rapport qu'il a morigéné trois écoliers de 17 ans qui ne savaient pas encore lire 9). L'annotation montre bien que c'est une exception scandaleuse et que la lecture est désormais un savoir que possèdent généralement les garçons de cet âge. En fait on peut considérer que vers 1740 tous les enfants sont scolarisés mais avec une intensité variable suivant leur appartenance sociale, et le contexte économique. L'effort des autorités scolaires et religieuses est dès lors surtout qualitatif : il s'agit d'allonger la durée des cours pendant l'année : en 1740 l'école devient aussi obligatoire l'été à raison de deux jours par semaine puis, à cause de la vive résistance des parents, à 2 matinées jusqu'en 1796 où la mesure est étendue à toute la semaine. La nouveauté réside aussi dans l'attention particulière portée à la qualité des enseignants (recrutement retiré aux patrons de la paroisse, création en 1753 de séminaires pour la formation des maîtres) et à la pédagogie employée (création d'une imprimerie scolaire à Brunswick en 1751 avec monopole d'utilisation dans les écoles, plus grande ambition du programme d'enseignement). La plupart de ces préoccupations apparaissent dans l'ordonnance pour les écoles de campagne de 1753 dont on a dit qu'elle était la première loi fondant véritalement l'école primaire en Allemagne. Le caractère "éclairé" de cette loi et de ses promoteurs lui a valu une reconnaissance particulière des historiens qui dépasse sans doute son impact réel et rejette un peu trop dans l'ombre le travail accompli précédemment. Les sources sont assez nombreuses à témoigner des difficultés d'application mais elles demanderaient à être exploitées sériellement pour éviter de tomber dans les travers que nous critiquions en première partie.

Ce rapide parcours à travers l'histoire du Brunswick montre bien que les notions d'obligation et d'école élémentaire ont changé avec le temps. On est passé d'une obligation morale et religieuse, assortie d'exigences assez modestes à nos yeux, à une obligation légale, imposée par l'Etat au nom du bien commun et de la reconstruction de l'ordre social et religieux. De théorique cette obligation est devenue rapidement réelle grâce aux progrès quantitatifs enregistrés par le réseau scolaire avant même cette législation. Au XVIIIe siècle, les progrès à faire sont surtout d'ordre qualitatifs 10) et les exigences qui accompagnent l'obligation scolaire se sont peu à peu élevées.

Reste à savoir si le Brunswick a eu une position particulière par rapport au reste de l'Allemagne. La taille réduite de ce territoire permettant un contrôle plus facile de la législation, les qualités intellectuelles remarquables de certains de ses princes, les potentialités économiques plutôt favorables de cette région ont sans doute été des facteurs positifs pour une scolarisation précoce mais ces résultats devraient se retrouver à quelques nuances et décalages chronologiques près dans bien des principautés allemandes. Toutefois seules des études régionales portant aussi sur les XVIe et XVIIe siècles permettraient de l'affirmer.

1) H. HEPPE, **Geschichte des deutschen Volksschulwesens**, 3 tomes, Gotha, 1858-1860. H. HETTWER, **Herkunft und Zusammenhang der Schulordnungen**, Mainz, 1965.

2) Par exemple: G. MERTZ, **Das schulwesen der deutschen Reformation im 16. jahrhundert**, Heidelberg, 1902 ; ou au plan local : K. KAYSER, "Die anfänge des Volksschulwesens in den altwelfischen Herzogtümern der Provinz Hannover", in **Zeitschr. d. hist. Vereins für Niedersachsen**, 1904, pp. 64-80. Ces ouvrages sont certes anciens mais leurs affirmations sont souvent reprises sans trop de vérification dans des travaux plus récents.

3) Cf. R. SCHENDA, "Alphabetisierung und Literarisierungsprozesse in Westeuropa im 18 und 19. jahrhundest", in :**Das pädagogische jahrhundert**, hg. v. U. HERMANN, Weinheim/Bâle, 1977, p. 154-168, qui donne (p. 155) 9 analphabètes sur 10 au début du XVIIIe siècle ! Dans une autre optique, la vision pessimiste de G. STRAUSS sur les effets de la Réforme : **Luther's House of Learning. Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation**, Baltimore, 1978.

4) Cf. notre thèse en cours sous la direction du Prof. Jean Meyer, université de Paris IV-Sorbonne : "Les écoles d'un prince baroque allemand : les rapports de Christoph Schrader au duc Auguste le Jeune de Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. 1635-1666/80". Sur les écoles de cette région cf. F. KOLDEWEY, **Braunschweigische Schulordnungen von den ältesten Zeiten bis 1828**, 2 tomes, Berlin 1886-90, MGPI et VIII.

5) KOLDEWEY, **op. cit.**, MGP I, p. LII ; MGP VIII, p. XLIII-XLIV.

6) **Landeskirchliches Archiv Braunschweig**, V 1927.

7) W. NORDEN, "Die Alphabetisierung der oldenburgischen Küstenmarsch im 17. und 18. Jahrdundert", in : E. HINRICHS, W. NORDEN, **Regionalgeschichte**, Hildesheim, 1980, pp. 103-164. M.-L. v. WARTBURG-AMBUEHL, **Alphabetisierung und Lektüre. Untersuchung am Beispiel einer ländlichen Region im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert**, Bern & Frankfurt/M, 1981, donne 60 à 80% de lecteurs vers 1750 dans la région de Zürich.

8) Th. MUELLER, "Johann Christoph Harenbergs Tätigkeit als braunschweigischer Generalschulinspektor 1736-1756.", in : **Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch** 40, 1959, p. 99.

9) Ibidem, p. 97.

10) Cette remarque rejoint celle faite avant nous par E. FRANCOIS pour le sud de l'Allemagne : "Die Volksbildung am Mittelrhein im ausgehenden 18. jahrhundert", in : **Jb. f. westdeutsche Landesgeschichte** 3, 1977, pp. 277-304.

# KARL AUGUST ZELLER (1774-1846). AIDE-CAMPS POUR LA PRUSSE, PAYS EN VOIE DE DEVELOPPEMENT EN MATIERE D'EDUCATION NATIONALE, DANS LE CONTEXTE DU DECALAGE SUD-NORD DES PAYS GERMANOPHONES

**Rudolf Koschnitzke**

> "... non seulement la Suisse malheureuse, mais aussi l'Allemagne doit penser aux blessures qu'on lui a infligées, l'Allemagne aussi doit guérir les besoins du peuble par l'éducation du peuble ..."(6/2060).
>
> Johann Friedrich Herbart, 1802

## 1. Les tentatives de Zeller concernant "l'applicabilité de la méthode d'enseignement de Pestalozzi" en Moravie, Suisse et au Wurtemberg

Carl August Zeller naquit en 1774 au chateau de Hohenentringen, situé quelques kilomètres au nord-ouest de Tubingue. Son père, qui disposait d'une fortune considérable, l'avait acheté après le mariage avec la fille d'un pasteur et il le mettait en valeur lui-même. Conformément à la tradition des familles wurtembergeoises, Carl August "comme premier-né fut voué à l'église" (2/9). L'éducation scolaire étant terminée, premier de sa classe, il reçu une bourse du séminaire de Tubingue, où, en 1792, il commença ses études universitaires en théologie. Deux ans plus tard, il fut promu maître ès théologie, en 1797, il défendit sa thèse *in publico* et termina son examen en théologie. (2/9-12)

Un an après, à Brünn, il adopta la fonction d'un aide-prédicateur. Peu après il réussit à fonder la "Association d'humanité (Humanitätsgesellschaft) pour éduquer le peuple et y répandre les Lumières", et il fonda une école du dimanche pour artisans. (2/13) Si cette dernière afficha "un progrès heureux", c'était "grâce à" quelques nobles, "qui gagnés par les faits, ... convaincus de son utilité, supportaient les frais de cet établissement privé"(11/21). La plupart de ceux qui participaient aux cours du dimanche "finirent par prendre goût aux sujets de l'enseignement", "firent preuve en très peu de temps de progrès vraiment admirable" et "promirent de répandre le bon qu'ils avaient appris parmi leurs amis"(11/22-33). Après cinq années d'activités, Zeller quitta sa charge à Brünn, et, en 1803, il se mit en voyage pour rencontrer Pestalozzi à Burgdorf, où, pendant deux mois, il se fit initier dans la méthode de celui-ci, l'introduction de la psychologie dans l'enseignement scolaire (2/14). Zeller se décida à devenir pédagogue populaire dans le sens de Pestalozzi. L'occasion s'en lui offrit dans la même année de 1803 à Tubingue, où une institution d'enseignement du dimanche pour artisans non-mariés venait d'être fondée. Sa collaboration lui prouve que l'artisan "éprouve, avec de rares exceptions, la nécessité de faire des progrès, et qu'il s'enfuit plus par force que par désir dans les divertissements grossiers des ordres inférieurs" (11/34). En plus "le préjugé disant qu'il était déshonorant d'aller à l'école à l'âge de 20 à 28 ans ne fut plus accueilli favorablement par les jeunes gens"(11/35 s.).

Mentor d'un étudiant noble, en 1804, Zeller avait l'occasion de voyager en Allemagne et au Danemark. A Detmold, lors de ces voyages, il fit la connaissance de la princesse régnante Pauline (2/15). Lors de ces mêmes voyages, il visita de différentes institutions éducatives, dont des orphelinats. L'intérêt dont témoigna le directeur général de Bavière en Souabe, qui s'occupait de la réforme de l'orphelinat de la ville d'Ulm et dont Zeller fit la connaissance, détermina ce dernier de travailler dans un désir de systématisation sur ses impressions qu'il avait cueillies pendant ses voyages sur des institutions éducatives pour les pauvres, et de représenter l'idéal d'un orphelinat (12/VI s.). Ce qui " a été réalisé et s'est confirmé" à différents lieux "pourquoi ne devrait-on pas le réaliser dans une seule et même institution" (12/IX). En "envêtant" ces idées dans un roman par lettres, Zeller, l'impression faite, voulait leur "assurer une circulation plus forte et plus bienfaisante" (12/X). Il regrette qu'il n'a eu connaissance du projet de Pestalozzi de fonder un orphelinat qu'au moment où sa propre étude devrait être mise sous presse (12/III).

Dans les mois d'été des années 1806 et 1807, Zeller eut l'occasion d'initier des instituteurs, qui étaient dèjà en état d'enseigner et qui venaient des cantons suisses de Zurich et de Bern, à la méthode de Pestalozzi. Lors de ces activités, le roi de Wurtemberg rencontra Zeller, et en 1808, il le fit promouvoir inspecteur des écoles de Heilbronn. (2/15 - 19) Sous le titre de "Ecole du maître d'école", il écrit là-dessus: Les élèves de cette école - il les compare aux voyageurs qui ont l'intention de "voyager dans les montagnes" - étaient "d'une intelligence saine, naturelle et innocente, leurs cœurs étaient faciles à émouvoir" et "ils n'avaient besoin que d'un maître qui leur montre les exercices indispensables". Il ajoute qu'un recteur d'école, qui doit produire des effets chez 60,80 ou 100 enfants, doit savoir bien d'autres choses qu'un précepteur qui n'a à enseigner que deux ou trois enfants". (14;

aussi:13) Des expériences faites au cours de ces occupations, Zeller en rendit compte aussi devant la princesse de Lippe-Detmold qui le lui avait demandé et l'y avait obligé (15/VIII). L'édition imprimée de ses lettres est devancée par des vers dont on cite ici quelques-uns (15/IV - VI) pour esquisser les idées pédagogiques de Zeller:

"Ecoute! Chant d'allégresse ... comme des voix d'enfants ...
Ce sont eux ... des enfants endimanchés!
L'allègre petite troupe s'approche! grimpant
volant en triomphe sur la montagne.
Compagnons de jeu, le nouveau soleil les trouve en eux.
O les heureux! ils respirent la joie et les délices.

Deux jeunes hommes, l'allègre troupe de ses vogues les bat;
chaque main saisie par un enfant sautant.
Ils se calment, se mettent en ordre. Alors ... comme ils courent
et jouent, comme les enfants se traitent entr'eux!
Eux ne seraient-ils pas de ces pédants d'école
qui ont banni de leur milieu plaisanterie et joie?

Dans leurs yeux la joie la plus pure se montre riante,
nulle jouissance, nul vin divin produit un tel bonheur
Je vous salue! O venez ...

Venez, vous tous qui vous êtes imaginés maîtres
de l'art le plus difficile de tous, depuis longtemps!
Venez, et devenez élèves! Apprenez à vouer les esprits
à cet esprit dont ils portent l'image.
Vous! Pestalozzi - Rochow - votre bénédiction!
Jettons les bases du temps meilleur!"

## 2. Scolarisation obligatoire en Prusse et la contribution de Zeller à son développement

Dès la deuxième décennie du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'Etat prussien avait commencé à se servir de l'éducation comme d'un instrument politique (7/93).

Ainsi, Friedrich Wilhelm I, le roi-soldat, s'est plaint de ce que beaucoup de "parents , dans le plat pays particulièrement, manquent d'envoyer leurs enfants régulièrement à l'école et que, par conséquent, ils laissent... la pauvre jeunesse dans une grande ignorance". De telles expériences aboutirent, en 1717, a la "première loi scolaire générale". C'étaient toujours "les prieurs et surintendants" qui devaient "s'occuper de la formation de bons maîtres d'école", mais cette initiative royale "inclut les premiers commencements de l'école publique (Staatsschule)". (10/21 ss.) Dès 1738, le roi mit en vigueur un "plan général pour les écoles", les "principia regulativa", concernant "les écoles de la campagne dans le royaume de Prusse", qui prescrivit en premier lieu le financement des frais des édifices scolaires et de la subsistance des instituteurs. - Quand le gouvernement prussien se prononça contre la scolarisation obligatoire introduite en 1717, le roi lui avait reproché qu'il "voulait maintenir le peuple dans l'état de la barbarie"; cette fois-ci, sur la chambre de Prusse qui critiqua vivement le nouveau plan "comme contribution insupportable de la campagne", il prit le dessus en argumentant que lui qui était un monarque aspirant à améliorer son pays, il savait indoutablement: "rien ne se fait de rien". (10/30 s.) De là s'ensuit qu'il est tout à fait compréhensible que le roi Friedrich Wilhelm I soit considéré comme "père de l'école populaire en Prusse" (1/213). La prise en charge d'un séminaire piétiste pour sacristains et maîtres d'école par l'Etat faisait partie de la politique d'éducation scolaire de Frédéric Le Grand; mais il n'y a aucun doute que "à cette époque-là, la fondation de séminaires pour instituteurs relevait plutôt de l'initiative de quelques hommes privés que de celle de l'Etat qui s'intéressaient à l'éducation populaire" (10/46 ss.; 1/213). Une décennie plus tard, tout de suite après la fin de la guerre de sept ans, le roi décrète le "Règlement général pour les écoles du pays"; il assura ainsi à l'Etat la surveillance des écoles ("§1. L'obligation scolaire concerne tous les enfants des deux sexes entre la 5e et la 13e ou 14e année", jusqu'à ce qu'ils "aient appris" en premier lieu "les fondements de la religion chrétienne, et à lire et à écrire".), et, dans ce sens, il commença à libérer l'Etat, au moins en principe, de sa dépendance de la noblesse ("§2. Les seigneurs sont obligés de ne pas appeler les enfants à faire des corvées auxquelles ils sont contraints comme leurs sujets, avant qu'ils n'aient bien appris à lire et qu'ils ne sachent les premiers fondements de l'écriture et qu'ils n'aient des bases solides de la foi chrétienne."), "sans néanmoins arriver à une mise en œuvre énergique de ce principe." En outre, tous les instituteurs doivent désormais passer un examen avant leur engagement, et il faut leur donner un certificat d'examen. Somme toute, le "Règlement général pour les écoles du pays" "met tout l'enseignement scolaire dans un système préconisé par l'Etat." (10/53 - 57, 72) - Le code prussien ("Allgemeines Landrecht"), mis en vigueur sous le roi Friedrich Wilhelm II en 1794, souligne encore plus nettement dans le §1 de la 12$^{e}$ partie le rôle de l'Etat dans l'éducation: "Les écoles et les universités sont des institutions de l'Etat." (10/91 - 99) La réalisation de cette maxime "posait à l'Etat une tâche difficile concernant l'administration, les bases économiques et les techniques pédagogiques", qu'on ne pouvait faire avancer que lentement (1/213 s.). L'un des premiers actes du gouvernement de Friedrich Wilhelm III avait été de demander avec empressement, en été 1798, une amélioration de l'éducation populaire: "L'enseignement et l'éducation forment l'homme et le citoyen, et tous les deux, du moins en général, sont confiés aux écoles, de sorte que leur influence sur la prospérité de l'Etat est d'une importance suprême. Cela, c'est admis depuis longtemps, et après, on a dirigé presque tous les soins vers les collèges, ces soins qui étaient beaucoup plus dûs aux petites écoles dans les villes et à la campagne. ... Enfin, il est temps de se soucier d'une éducation et d'un enseignement qui soient utiles aux enfants des bourgeois et des paysans." (3/8 s.) Les enquêtes qui ont suivi ces propos "n'ont produit rien d'autre qu'un tas de papier qui vaut quand même encore être lu aujourd'hui"; et les voyages d'inspections, effectués par le ministre compétent, menaient à ce que celui-ci pouvait présenter au roi un "plan national pour les écoles et l'éducation" qui ne tarda pas à rester du "papier inutile". Conjointement on discutait aussi sur Pestalozzi; et le ministre, responsable pour les provinces polonaises de Prusse, envoya, en 1803, un inspecteur des séminaires à Pestalozzi afin de perfectionner sa formation là-bas (1/214; 3/10; 9/179 s.).

Ainsi, les rois de Prusse, depuis l'an 1717, n'avaient cessé de mettre, après le militaire, les finances, la justice et l'économie, sous la main unificatrice de l'Etat l'éducation comme dernier domaine important de la vie; néanmoins, cela ne s'est pas fait avec assez de fermeté dans l'esprit humaniste et éclairé de Frédéric le Grand, et dans le sens de l'éducation de l'homme en général (7/93). Mais même face à cette restriction, "l'obligation scolaire" se présente comme une nouvelle obligation pour l'Etat dont celui-ci s'est chargé lui-même, et non pas comme une obligation que l'Etat a imposée aux sujets ou bien à la population.

Après la paix malencontreuse de Tilsit en 1807, en Prusse s'éveillèrent de nouvelles forces spirituelles qui étaient décidées à réorganiser toute la constitution de l'Etat. C'étaient avant tout les idées philosophiques de Schiller, Goethe, Kant et de Fichte qui, dans cette situation, formaient la base d'une nouvelle éthique d'Etat. (2/26). Quand le baron vom Stein admit comme base de son plan pour la réorganisation de l'Etat prussien "la ressuscitation de toutes les forces nationales spontanées, il ne put pas en exclure l'enseignement populaire. "On finit par comprendre la valeur de la maxime de base de Pestalozzi qu'il fallait développer, dans chaque enfant, de bas en haut et méthodiquement, la force formatrice spontanée de la nature humaine", et cela apparut comme q.c. qu'il fallait s'approprier. Ce qui était décisif, c'était que "ces idées du grand prophète de l'éducation nationale moderne se trouvaient en harmonie intime avec la pensée des hommes d'Etat et des philosophes de cette époque." (1/214) "La relation intérieure entre le concept d'éducation et les principes du règlement pour les villes de Stein est ici" comme "à la portée de la main" (7/102). Dans ses "Discours à la Nation des Allemands", Fichte a alors propagé un plan qui "dans l'éducation, attribue un rôle absolu à la Nation", qui "même en matière de pédagogie veut faire de l'Etat un maître-dompteur de la conscience nationale allemande" et qui, par conséquent, "met l'éducation de la personnalité qui agit d'elle-même résolument au service de la Nation". Autant que les discours de Fichte, les sermons de Schleiermacher produirent des effets "qui influencèrent profondément la réalité scolaire". (7/97 s.) "Stein - Fichte - Pestalozzi, c'étaient ces trois astres qui savaient réaliser la renaissance de la prusse et la naissance de l'école populaire prussienne." (10/116 s.)

En effet, les conseillers d'état Süvern et Nicolovius - ils étaient dans le cadre du ministère de l'intérieur de la Prusse les fonctionnaires responsables de la section des cultes et de l'enseignement public - s'efforçaient d'introduire en Prusse, d'après les idées de Fichte, la méthode de Pestalozzi (7/97). Sous la direction de Wilhelm von Humboldt, au cours d'un échange d'idées animé avec, entr'autres, Schleiermacher, Nicolovius, Humboldt et Fichte, Süvern a alors esquissé un "plan pour l'éducation nationale" qui prévoit un système éducatif comprenant les trois niveaux de l'école élémentaire, école citadine et lycée, dans lequel chaque niveau sert comme base au suivant, et de la réalisation duquel on se promet qu'en même temps "l'Etat prussien pourrait par là devenir le modèle d'une constitution pour toute l'Allemagne, d'une constitution qui s'inspire de l'esprit allemand, en conséquence la seule qui soit adaptée à la nature de l'allemand. C'est pourquoi, dans la section des cultes et de l'enseignement, on comprend le plan de Süvern comme contribution à la réponse qu'exige la grande question du temps, c'est-à-dire quels traits pourrait avoir l'avenir politique de l'Allemagne après une défaite de Napoléon. (7/103)

Concernant la concrétisation du plan général dans le secteur des écoles élémentaires, en août 1808, Nicolovius, qui était responsable de cette partie du système éducatif, proposa et d'envoyer une douzaine de jeunes gens à Pestalozzi pour leur procurer là une formation d'instituteurs (1/223 - 228; 3/36 - 58; 9/181 - 195), et d'établir, sous la direction de Zeller, l'élève de Pestalozzi, un institut normal, destiné au perfectionnement des instituteurs déjà en fonction dans les écoles. Les activités de ce dernier, dont l'esquisse avait été faite au début de cette étude, lui avaient fait, aussi en Prusse, une réputation d'organisateur énergique. Ainsi Nicolovius, qui avait déjà rencontré Pestalozzi en 1791 et, depuis, lui avait gardé une certaine amitié, connaissait-il l'écrit de Zeller "Les fondements d'un meilleur avenir".

Quand le gouvernement prussien demanda à Zeller s'il était prêt à collaborer à la réforme de l'éducation publique (2/27; 3/17, 27 s., 59 s.), celui-ci, en principe, se déclara d'accord. En même temps, il forma la prière a) d'être nommé membre de l'administration scolaire, b) d'être chargé de l'organisation, dans toutes les provinces, "d'un orphelinat central comme établissement d'éducation pour des maîtres d'école futurs et comme institut normal pour de vrais maîtres d'école", et d'entraîner là "les directeurs des autres orphelinats royaux", aussi "les prédicateurs les plus honnorables comme futurs directeurs des instituts normaux de leurs circonscriptions et comme inspecteurs d'école", comme aussi "désormais tous les candidats à l'état de prédicateur", mais aussi de perfectionner la formation "de maîtres d'école déjà en fonction" pendant des cours d'une durée de six semaines avec examen à la fin comme "condition de continuer à avoir la main libre" dans leurs fonctions, c) de mettre à sa disposition les moyens financiers nécessaires à la réalisation desdits projets (1/215 s.; 2/28; 3/60 s.; 10/121). Par "ordre de cabinet" du 15 mars 1809, le roi admit la proposition d'appeler Zeller en respectant ses conditions; et en huit jours, Zeller en reçut la nouvelle par lettre, contenant l'ordre suivant: "Dépêchez-vous de venir auprès de nous ...! Récréez avec nous l'Etat prussien". De Heilbronn, le 18 avril 1809, Zeller envoya son accord en confessant: "La somme d'argent que sa Majesté a accordée a provoqué une forte impression chez mes compatriotes. Ses zéros en disent beaucoup plus que toute la littérature pédagogique de la dernière décennie." (3/76, 75)

En mai, le roi de Wurtemberg remercia Zeller; et le 9 juin 1809, celui-ci fut nommé "conseiller d'état, avec siège et voix au sein du gouvernement de toute province où il séjournera lors de l'organisation des établissements préconisés" (3/76). Inspecteur d'école à Königsberg, il commença de réorganiser l'orphelinat en place en institut normal et de le diriger (2/28). Dès le début de l'an 1811, il en transmit la direction au curé Benecke (2/30 s.), et ensuite, en fondant des filiales dans la Prusse de l'est et de l'ouest, il mena la vie instable d'un voyageur jusqu'à son mariage avec Charlotte Rottmann, de Dirschau, dans la même année (1/222; 2/32). Peu après la Prusse s'est vue obligée de concentrer toutes ses forces sur la campagne de Napoléon en Russie et sur la guerre de libération (2/37). Pendant le court laps de temps qui restait pour entreprendre la réforme, Zeller fit preuve de la plus grande activité organisatrice concernant particulièrement la réalisation de ses cours. En plus, pendant cette période, il fit des efforts d'écrivain par lesquels il pouvait donner accès à un plus grand public à son travail pratique qu'il effectuait dans le sens de Pestalozzi. C'était encore en 1809 que parut son premier livre en Prusse. Dans ce livre il décrivit l'expérience scolaire jusque-là et il esquissa comment il pouvait, après son appellation "du Neckar au Pregel" (16/42), constituer à ériger "l'édifice de l'éducation nationale en Prusse". Cet "édifice" reçut dans toutes les capitales des provinces de Prusse, Poméranie, Brandebourg et Silésie un institut central de formation d'instituteurs comme "clef de voûte"; et sous un "aspect politico-économique" "les orphelinats royaux" étaient idéalement adaptés "à fournir des instituteurs et des institutrices éduqués pour l'Etat, et des pauvres éduqués pour les enfants des pauvres" (16/73, 101s.) Mais de plus grande importance serait, selon lui, cette manière d'enseigner que Pestalozzi a appelée "la méthode des mères" et qui a toujours lieu quand une mère sait "procurer d'elle-même à son enfant l'enseignement élémentaire." "Enseignement élémentaire au sein de la famille", ce serait "évolution de l'école familiale de la chénille de l'école publique élémentaire qui puisse, comme enveloppe de la première, périr quand celle-là a rempli sa fonction avec succès". (16/102 s.) - Les cinq cahiers édités par Zeller sous le titre de "Beyträge zur Beförderung der Preußischen Nationalerziehung" formaient la conclusion amplifiée de ses travaux antérieurs concernant l'enseignement des matières spéciales et l'organisation scolaire. Les "Beyträge" sont voués à Pestalozzi et "doivent contribuer au monument avec lequel le monde postérieur veut honorer cet homme qui s'est soucié même de l'éducation des pauvres du peuple". Zeller souligna: "De l'éducation familiale évolue l'éducation villageoise ou urbaine; celle-ci - quand elle réussit - crée une éducation nationale"; "l'édifice de l'Etat doit s'encrouler s'il n'est pas érigé sur le rocher de l'éducation familiale". (18 1er cahier/V, IX - XII) Et en soulignant "qu'une force linguistique et rhétorique développée et formée atteste la dignité des savants", que les auteurs classiques "auraient été, des siècles durant, la seule source de l'éducation de l'homme" (18 2e Cahier/V), il anticipa une idée fondamentale de Heidegger (4a/5: "Le langage est la maison de l'être. L'homme habite cette maison. Les penseurs et les poètes sont les gardiens de cette maison."). Pour "l'évolution libre de l'intelligence des enfants", il serait, même dans l'enseignement des langues, important "de ne forcer l'enfant en rien, mais de le laisser trouver lui-même" (18 3e cahier/VIII). De même, l'enseignement de la musique laisse "l'enfant chercher et n'exercer que ce qu'il a librement trouvé". Ici "le parfait ne se formera que par concurrence - résultat d'une multitude d'individualités". (18 4e cahier/VIII) En discutant les thèses de l'auteur d'un livre anglais sur l'éducation, Zeller affirma que l'Anglais - s'il avait eu connaissance de l'esprit et de la méthode de Pestalozzi - "s'aurait efforcé de traiter son école en famille, et non pas en bataillon" (18 5e cahier/X). - Dans une autre publication Zeller expliqua son propre travail à l'intermédiaire de la discussion entre le maître d'école B., qui avait voué toute sa vie à l'éducation de la jeunesse, et qui, pour y réussir s'était servi de la méthode de Pestalozzi (17/5), mais qui avait aussi appris **à apprécier** l'éducateur Jean Paul, et le candidat à la fonction d'instituteur C. d'avec le cantor A. qu'il connut depuis ses études et qui, par ordre du surintendant devait "désormais enseigner le calcul et la lecture d'après la méthode de Pestalozzi" (17/7 - 9).

Après la fin de la guerre, la réforme amorcé ne fut pas continuée avec la même intensité; mais Zeller resta encore environ deux décennies dans le service de la Prusse, bien qu'il eût été restraint au rôle d'auteur depuis la phase finale de la guerre: Son œuvre "le plus mûr" (2/81) basait sur les expériences qu'il avait faites "lors de ses multiples voyages scolaires en Prusse de l'est et de l'ouest et en Lituanie" (19/VI), et montra comment "l'école élémentaire devait animer de différentes facultés élémentaires de l'enfant", et cela "sans prendre en considération sa future profession" (19/76). Dans de différents écrits, il essaya plus tard, entr'autres, de préparer des instituteurs à enseigner correctement les sports (20), de faire voir la faculté des prisons d'améliorer moralement (22), et de montrer, en se servant de l'image de Woyciech qui "dans l'école de son village et de la vie était devenu un chrétien pieux, un brave guerrier, un bon citoyen", de montrer "ce qu'un bon enseignement scolaire pouvait faire de garçons incultivés" (21/feuille 2). Enfin, Zeller montra, à l'aide de l'exemple d'une mère catholique et de sa relation avec son fils protestant, la base commune des deux églises: "Ce qu'elle dit est aussi peu une attaque que la réplique de son fils est une défense" (23/5).

L'activité inlassable de Zeller pendant ses premières années en Prusse a dû supporter pour la plupart du temps un jugement négatif; essentiellemnt on lui objecta de s'être écarté de Pestalozzi. Un curé, qui, en été 1810, chez Zeller, avait participé à une "réunion de supérieurs cléricaux d'écoles élémentaires prussiennes à l'institut normal royal à Königsberg" écrivit là-dessus qu'on transplantait "une méthode d'enseignement et d'éducation" qu'on "disait la découverte la plus importante du siècle passé", "pour un cure radicale de nos écoles élémentaires ... du pied du Jura", mais non pas du Neckar, comme l'avait dit Zeller (16/42), " aux bords du pregel" (8/1 s.),mais que lui-même, il avait été invité à publier cette méthode "déjà avant l'arrivée de l'inspecteur supérieur Zeller en Prusse par le département royal pour les cultes et l'enseignement public" (8/4). Il dit aussi " que dès leur présence à l'institut beaucoup de gens témoignèrent d'une forte répugnance, et qu'elles l'augmentèrent après leur départ" (8/3 s.).

Plus ouvertement, en 1812, **depuis** la Suisse, un collaborateur de Pestalozzi critiqua Zeller: Celui-ci se rendait "coupable de se moquer du nom et de la chose de Pestalozzi. ... Rien n'est plus étranger au génie et à l'esprit de Pestalozzi que tout ce que M. Zeller, tambour battant, met em marche pendant les cours" (2/81). L'année 1810 livre quelques jugements des préposés de Zeller. Süvern avoua "que Zeller est assez furieux et fort pour être réformateur - mais qu'il n'en a malheureusement pas la mesure"; et Nicolovius dit que s'étaient introduites des fautes "dans la chose sainte commencée à l'institut normal" et que comptait parmi celles-ci "la vanité de zeller" par laquelle "est offensée la croyance en la pureté des plus nobles" (2/36). D'autres qui ont travaillé sur l'époque de réforme en question en jugent comme il suit: La promotion de Zeller "s'avoua ... une faute, parce que sa vanité, son inattention et son entêtement causaient de grands soucis à Nicolovius et Süvern" (3/77);

l'activité de Zeller à l'institut normal de Königsberg "ne correspondait pas à ce qui se faisait dans l'esprit de Pestalozzi, mais à l'excentricité de son élève en mal d'originalité" (1/218).

Ces jugements négatifs ne sont pas confirmés par les travaux que zeller a publiés à cette époque-là; mais ils se conforment d'une manière étonnante au jugement sur Zeller que Pestalozzi a transmis par lettre à son ami Nicolovius, en 1809, même avant l'entrée de Zeller dans le service de l'Etat prussien.

En 1806, Pestalozzi avait écrit que Zeller était le seul "capable parmi dix mille, de faire trembler l'enseignement scolaire des artisans" (2/9). En 1809, il dit à l'adresse de Nicolovius: "Personne n'a plus de considération pour Zeller que moi; j'en ai plus que tous mes collaborateurs" (9/190); et "il m'aime." "Je t'aurais parlé de lui plus tôt, mais je croyais qu'il n'irait pas en Prusse"; mais enfin le ministère devait savoir qu'il ne devait pas tout attendre de lui. "Il est l'homme aux miracles pour le début". (9/191) "J'ai beaucoup de respect pour Zeller; parce qu'il est réveilleur des Nations pour l'éducation et éducateur lui-même - dans mes yeux un admirable -", mais seulement en ce qui concerne "le mécanisme du lire, de l'écrire, du chant et en partie aussi de la langue; mais ainsi qu'il est fait, il risquerait de s'arrêter et de laisser s'endormir des hommes, formés à un quart ou un huitième seulement, dans l'illusion d'être formés complètement" (9/189). "Il n'a pas de moyens pour réussir la perfection - non-seulement en ce qui concerne le tout de l'éducation, mais aussi ses divisons. ...plus s'améliorent les résultats auxquels Zeller arrive après un demi an, plus il vous devient nécessaire de connaître exactement le point où il **ne** sait plus avancer." - Dans cette situation - c'est ainsi que Pestalozzi le conseille à "l'ami Nicolovius" - celui-ci devait s'engager, pour doubler la nourriture pour la vie des morts réveillée." Zeller "a besoin de quelqu'un qui le devance et qui dirige ce qu'il fait. ... Le plus haut degré, le perfectionnement de la chose, il ne le porte ni dans sa tête ni dans son cœur"; c'est qu'il est "vaniteux,... turbulent,... violent." (9/190).

### 3. Jugement sur la pédagogie de Pestalozzi lors d'un examen à l'institut normal de Königsberg

Le troisième directeur de l'institut normal de Königsberg, fondé par Zeller, s'appelait Hagenauer. Il avait été né à Aarau/Suisse en 1783; et son père l'avait fait apprendre le métier de fabricant de vinaigre, d'eau-de-vie et de bière. Après, Hagenauer avait d'abord été directeur d'une brasserie en Allemagne du sud, puis il s'est vu confié la direction d'une brasserie que son père avait fondé pour lui dans sa ville natale. Comme celle-ci marchait bien, en 1808, Hagenauer reçut l'approbation paternelle d'une décision qu'il avait prise déjà quelques années avant, c'est-à-dire de contribuer au grand œuvre de l'éducation des hommes; et pour s'y préparer, il alla voir Pestalozzi à Yverdon. Celui-ci eut de la considération pour lui, et en 1811, il le recommanda à l'institut de Plamann à Berlin, et un an après, à Nicolovius. C'est ainsi que le gouvernement de la Prusse, le 7 mars 1812, lui confia la direction de l'institut normal de Königsberg, après que Benecke, le successeur immédiat de Zeller, l'avait introduit dans les fonctions dès le début de l'année. (4/166 s.)

En août 1813, par annonce dans des journaux et par une petite brochure (4/180 - 185), Hagenauer invita le public à assister à un de ces examens publics qui étaient très en vogue à l'époque; et un nombre considérable des notables de Königsberg donna une suite favorable à l'invitation - dont le chancelier von Schrötter, le gouverneur von Zastrow et le professeur de philosophie J.F. Herbart, le deuxieme successeur de Kant à l'université de Königsberg, depuis 1809 (4/169). Pour bien connaître l'état d'esprit du public assistant à l'examen, le gouvernement prie trois notables invités de s'expliquer sur l'examen et de dire si l'institut normal, selon leur conviction, remplissait bien sa fonction de former des instituteurs.

Le mémoire de Herbart a été publié bien que cela n'ait été que huit décennies après. L'auteur l'adressa au "vénérable département des cultes et de l'enseignement public". (4/170)

A la question si l'institut normal remplissait sa tâche comme il faut, Herbart répondit qu'il formait des "instituteurs adjoints pour des écoles dans des petites villes, même pour des écoles citadines de cette ville." "Et ainsi, il correspond à une vraie nécessité. ... Mais s'il s'agit par contre d'écoles villageoises, dans ce cas-là il manque comme directeur de l'établissement cet homme dont le caractère s'égare des mœurs urbaines et se tourne vers celles de la campagne..., qui soit enthousiasmé, non pas par l'idée d'élaborer une méthode d'enseignement, mais par le bonheur des habitants de la campagne et par le désir de secourir les plus pauvres." (4/176 s.)

Dans ce mémoire, après avoir fait quelques remarques générales, Herbart montre les bonnes performances, explique certains défauts et finit par un apperçu sur toute la pédagogie de Pestalozzi: Il en serait de même et pour le cas particulier de cet examen et pour la méthode de Pestalozzi en général: "Ce qu'on a fait jusque-là est mieux que rien; et on peut corriger les fautes, à condition que l'esprit de secte des Pestalozziens ne maintienne ce qui est faux ensemble avec ce qui est sain." En tout cas "les disputes des pédagogues d'ici" sur l'institut normal "auraient été menés sans fondement." (4/171 s.) - La méthode de Pestalozzi serait saine, elle serait même "très bien adaptée aux premiers cours dans de grandes classes d'école, particulièrement quand il s'agit d'enfants provenants des couches inférieures, qu'on peut, en vérité, appeler peuple sans langue, et dans lesquels il faut d'abord pour ainsi dire implanter les noms et les expressions." Au cours de l#examen "la lecture de quelques élèves a surmonté mes attentes, en ce qui concerne p.e. la pureté de la prononciation, la flexibilité de la voix, et le respect du sens" des mots prononcés. (4/174) Quelques dessins qu'on faisait montrer "étaient excellents" et "témoignaient du succès de la méthode d'enseignement" (4/171). - Tandis que la méthode de Pestalozzi est très favorable à "graver dans la mémoire les matières enseignées", elle ne prend pas en considération 'jedes' "nachfolgende Verarbeiten, Verbinden, mannigfache Beleuchten und ans Herzlegen" bien que ce soit aussi important que le premier. "Denn die Samenkörner sollen nicht bloss in den Boden eingepflanzt, sondern die hervorspriessenden Gewächse sollen auch gepflegt und genützt werden". Cette " grande partialité", qui règne aussi chez Pestalozzi à Yverdon, peut mener à ce que, par une réforme p.e. dans le sens de Pestalozzi, "l'avantage de celle de Basedow, la discussion plus libre entre professeur et élève", se perde de nouveau. (4/175) - A part de ce qu'on offrait présentement à l'institut normal, et ce qui était utile, on devrait à l'avenir aussi distribuer des connaissances du "beau dans la nature et l'art", de l'histoire et des institutions de la patrie, et cela comme tâche principale; sinon, le danger est que les "futurs instituteurs" qu'on forme à l'institut normal, "ne deviennent seulement des machines à enseigner impratiquables" et pas "des hommes capables de perfectionner leur propre formation". (4/176)

Ce jugement de Herbart concernant l'examen répète exactement les pensées fondamentales de son jugement de l'œuvre pédagogique de Pestalozzi qu'il a publié dans un essai onze ans plus tôt, c'est-à-dire même avant le début de sa carrière universitaire. Alors il s'adress "A trois femmes" à Brême: "Le salut du peuple est le but de Pestalozzi; le salut du menu peuple" (5/27). C'est pourquoi il est conséquent et constitue un de ses plus beaux résultats qu'il part en tant que pédagogue de l'expérience quotidienne. Comme le monde extérieur cherche "de lui-même d'entrer dans l'enfant par l'œil et l'oreille" et que "sa variété, sa coloration, sa diversité" trouble d'abord l'enfant (5/37 s.), Pestalozzi souligne la nécessité de "s'exercer dans la contemplation". "Cette manière d'enseigner, et aucune autre" est, selon lui, "à placer en première place même dans l'école villageoise la plus humble". Suivent des exercices de langue et de l'usage des chiffres. (5/41 ss.) "Faire progresser l'échange entre l'homme et son monde: c'est" d'un côté "la première fin de Pestalozzi (5/44); de l'autre, ses exercices, "de loin", ne suffisent pas pour "donner à un enfant la vue sur les relations de la multitude, ... la vraie base de la moralité" (5/47). "L'expérience quotidienne" comme seul moyen d'éducation, ne suffit pas "à acquérir une culture supérieure." (5/49). "En réalité, un homme qui ne veut pas être un oisif mangeur de pain a besoin d'être enseigné" aussi "en matière de religion et de morale" (5/32). Mais Pestalozzi n'arrive même pas "à associer l'utile à l'agréable" et "de verser" ainsi "plus de joie parmi les enfants" (5/22). Pour faire évoluer dans l'homme "la perception esthétique comme nerf central" et pour pouvoir ainsi parfaire l'éducation, il faudrait transgresser "les limites de l'intention de Pestalozzi" (5/16).

Que Herbart, en dépit de ce jugement réservé sur la pédagogie de Pestalozzi, ait été appelé dans la capitale d'antan de la Prusse en même temps que le Pestalozzien avoué Zeller et par la même buraucratie, pourrait apparaître étonnant, si on ne prenait pas en considération l'état d'urgence dans lequel se trouvait l'Etat prussien à l'époque. Celui-ci voulait en sortir, et cela aussi à l'intermédiaire d'une réforme de l'enseignement qui devait contribuer à "développer d'efficaces contre-forces à l'encontre des forces déchaînées par la Révolution française" (1/212). Comparé à cela, la question de savoir si Zeller, au cours de son œuvre réformatrice en Prusse, s'était vraiment écarté du maître Pestalozzi ou si telle affirmation avait été injuste, devient négligeable.

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# RESUME

1. Zeller, après avoir fini ses études de théologie au séminaire de Tubingue, a rempli, pour peu de temps seulement, la fonction de curé,mais déjà comme aide-prédicateur, d'abord dans des écoles du dimanche pour artisans à Brünn et Tubingue, il a commencé à s'exercer dans l'éducation populaire. Dans la suite de plusieurs voyages d'étude qui l'avaient mené via Detmold jusqu'au Danemark et en Suisse, quant à ses activités ultérieures concernant le but de préparer un meilleur avenir par l'intermédiaire de l'éducation populaire, il s'est servi des méthodes d'enseignement de Pestalozzi. Cela s'est passé particulièrement dans le contexte d'un perfectionnement d'instituteurs déjà en fonction, en Suisse, dans les cantons de Zurich et de Bern, et également dans la ville wurtembergeoise de Heilbronn.
2. Après la conclusion de la paix de Tilsit, la direction de la politique prussienne avait été confiée au baron de l'empire vom Stein. Celui-ci, voulant contribuer au renouveau en Prusse par le moyen d'une réforme de l'enseignement, voyait dans la méthode de Pestalozzi un moyen bien adapté aux fins politiques du renouveau. A cette époque-là, le succès de Zeller dans l'enseignement était déjà connu en Prusse. Zeller fut appelé à Königsberg pour perfectionner dans la manière de Pestalozzi la formation déjà acquise des instituteurs, et pour fonder là comme ailleurs dans d'autres provinces des "instituts normaux" qui étaient voués à la formation de futurs instituteurs. Bientôt, on critiqua l'activité de Zeller en disant qu'il s'écartait de Pestalozzi. En conséquence de cette critique, on ne tarda pas à limiter les activités d'enseignement de Zeller et, somme toute, il dut se borner à exercer son influence éducatrice en tant qu'auteur. Néanmoins, l'inspecteur supérieur des écoles Zeller ne quitta la Prusse pour regagner son pays natal, le Wurtemberg, au début des années trente qu'après avoir atteint l'âge de la retraite. 3. Deux ans après la retraite de Zeller de la fonction de directeur à l'institut normal de Königsberg, on y organisa un examen public. Concernant son déroulement, le gouvernement avait demandé plusieurs rapports d'experts dont un qui a suscité des doutes portant sur le fondement de la critique selon laquelle Zeller se serait écarté de Pestalozzi. L'idée qu'une certaine partie contenue dans ce rapport et qui désapprouve la méthode d'enseignement de Pestalozzi ne vise Zeller que dans une moindre mesure, doit rester ici supposition; c'est que les restrictions imposées aux dimensions de cette étude empêchent un examen à fond du contenu des écrits de Zeller, et quelles laissent persister un manque qui caractérise aussi les études plus approfondies sur Zeller. Une lacune de la recherche scientifique est démontrée, mais elle n'a pas pu être comblée. —

De tous les chiffres mis entre parenthèses dans le texte de cette étude, p.e.: (2/9), le premier se réfère au numéro correspondant de la publication contenue dans la partie finale, titrée "Bibliographie", et le deuxième chiffre désigne ou tous les chiffres suivants désignent la page ou les pages de la publication correspondante. Si, entre les mêmes parantheses, il y a référence à plusieurs publications à la fois, les chiffres correspondantes sont divisées par un point-virgule, p.e.: (15; 21/75-81; 30/V s.).

## III CONVEGNO NAZIONALE

# L'ISTRUZIONE POPOLARE NELL'ITALIA LIBERALE: LE ALTERNATIVE DELLE CORRENTI D'OPPOSIZIONE

*Del Pavone e del Merlo. Fav. XIV.*

# THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF COMPULSORY SCHOOLING IN GERMANY AND THE HISTORICAL LESSONS TO BE LEARNT

Gabriele Weigand

## RESUME

L'école et la scolarité obligatoire ont été et sont toujours organisées pour atteindre certains buts ne se dégageant pas de l'individu. Dès le début de l'histoire allemande les motifs menant à l'introduction de la scolarité obligatoire sont de nature presque exclusivement politique variant uniquement dans la nature du motif politique. Par contre nous réclamons que l'école et la scolarité obligatoire passent d'un fait politique à un fait pédagogique et qu'on les met au service de l'éducation et de la culture libres et personales.

The question of the development of compulsory schooling can be attacked in two ways. On the one hand, one can attack it with the meticulosity of the archivist whose task it is to reconstruct all the single elements, without a gap and historically verified, to show how the factum brutum of compulsory schooling developed. This perspective has its own justification and dignity, although one cannot deny, at the same time, that an educationalist who attacked the question in this way could at best appear to be one-eyed, for he, as an educationalist in the field of the history of education would only have opened his historical eye, his educational eye having remained blind.

A second perspective could be seen by looking only at the educational problem of compulsory education without taking into account the fact that this problem has to be seen in the light of history and that this problem has been subjected to many varied influences in its historical development, whether they be sociological, political, religious, ideological or others as well. If one were to ignore this theme and to look solely at the educational problem as an isolated one, then one would be no less one-eyed or, indeed, blind. An educationalist who has learnt to see with both eyes cannot attack the problem in any other way but by taking both perspectives into consideration by turning to the historical development and not stopping there, but then reflecting upon the educational lessons which are to be drawn from this historical development.

We will restrict ourselves in the following to sketching in, roughly, the history of compulsory schooling in Germany, in each case searching for the dominant motives, explaining them with regard to their ideological background where suitable, and testing the degree of their realisation, in order to, finally, draw the educational lessons which, however, will hardly be rivalled as regards disenchantment and disillusionment.

As is well-known, the idea of schooling for all the inhabitants of the empire first appeared in the Regulations and Orders (the "Kapitularien") of Karl the Great in the years 802 and 813 A.D. (1), in which it was decreed that all the children of the lower classes were to be taught religion, reading, writing and arithmetic, and these in their own mother-tongue. At first he succeeded in collecting together at his court the most learned people of his time, such as the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, and developing the court as the educational centre of the empire. On account of the cultural renaissance known as the Carolingian Renaissance (2) in which the antique heritage was blended with the Christian tradition and Germanic elements to one unified whole, the emperor was also able to secure, for the Frankonian Empire, the cultural leadership in Europe after having gained political victories. According to Karl's ideas, the education, restricted to the learned ranks of the "litterati", was to be spread to the lower classes and in their mother-tongue. In this, the emperor wanted, specifically, to safeguard the political unity and the survival of the Franconian Empire. That Karl's plans for spreading education throughout the population as well as introducing general compulsory schooling had to remain without success due to inadequate preconditions, has often been set forth. For our topic, however, it is well worth noting that even at the beginning of Germany's history the idea of general compulsory schooling was alive, and it was clearly and indeed dominantly seen as a means of realising political goals set down by the state.

After schooling was voluntary during the whole of the Middle Ages - if one does not take into consideration education suitable to one's rank such as the education befitting a knight's son -, it is only in the Reformation that demands for a general and compulsory school education are heard again.

In his "Letter to the Mayors and Councillors of all Towns in the German Countries" (1524) and in the sermon "that one should send children to school" (1530), Luther emphatically admonished the powers that be and parents to take care of the education of the population and of the youth. His concern was motivated by the idea of realising a religious and demoninational education for everyone, and must be understood with his specific view of what it is that makes man human, that is, standing at the service of God and the world.

Schools should thus be created to further the "welfare and happiness" (3) of children. Luther's demand is not, however, restricted to religious education. Rather, the lessons should, at the same time, serve the "general good" (4), that is, the efficiency of society. The reformer thus anticipates an important element of the educational ideas of the Enlightenment. His stand, also, that the authorities should bring into being a state (or community) school, administered by the authorities in contrast to the Church schools of the Middle Ages, looks forward to the Enlightenment and the debates which became intense in the 18th. century concerning the supremacy of the Church or the State in education.

Even if the aspirations for introducing general compulsory education remained verbal proclamations, in Luther's age as well, just as the main interest of the reformers was aimed at the education of the learned, it remains to be noted that the wish for education and schooling for all children was predominantly motivated by the demand for spreading and furthering the ideas of the Reformation throughout the population, that is, it was solely determined by religio-political motives.

Lasting progress in the development of compulsory schooling can be seen with the appearance of the absolutistic state government. The authorities, seeking to embody spritual and secular leadership in one person, required, for the realisation and stabilisation of their power, loyal subjects, good Christians and reliable citizens.

In addition to this motive of political power, one can see clearly an economic and social factor. Schools are understood, increasingly, according to the pattern of the barracks and the military, as centres for disciplining, as centres for education for diligence and industry, and finally as the place where one learns to read which enables the subjects to read, themselves, the decrees of the sovereign's administration.

Thus compulsory education is to be seen as a part of that process in which the modern centralised state has developed (5). The school regulations of the 16th. and 17th. centuries all indicate that the authorities' educational policies are the subject of extensive political debates which are directed towards realising the central power in contrast to the privileges and rights of certain classes. It is true that one finds, in these documents, the ideas of numerous educational reformers, in which the reformers in fact showed great interest, but one must not allow oneself to be deceived by the bombastic theorizing of a Wolfgang Ratke or a Comenius, for it remains a fact that the task of the lower schools was solely or at least predominantly to educate the children to become subjects of the state.

If the decrees were, at this time as well, only on paper, with very few exceptions (6), because the rulers did not have the necessary means or rather, did not wish to make these available, one can, however, speak of the beginning of a modern (i.e. administered and controlled by the state) elementary school and compulsory schooling from the 17th. century onwards (7).

If, in the 16th. and 17th. centuries, the absolutistic ruling form was decisively responsible for developing and realising compulsory education, the 18th. century brought with it the vital influence of the Enlightenment.

The union of absolutistic elements and ideas of the Enlightenment finds its most impressive expression in the middle of the 18th. century with Friedrich the Second, who is generally considered as a perfect example of enlightened absolutism. Precisely in this sense, he was interested both in strengthening the central power but also (and here one sees aspects of the Enlightenment and philanthropism) in the nationalization of the school system and, at least as a claim, in the realisation of general compulsory education. In the "General Law of the Land" of 1796 (8), all schools are specifically declared to be state schools, that is, released from the authority of the Church and given over to the responsibility of the state. In the two central decrees, the General State School Decree of 1763 and the Royal Prussian General State School Decree for Roman Catholics of 1765 (9), one reads of a general school and education obligation for children from the age of 5 to 13/14 (see Para. 1). If one examines, however, the intentions behind these, then it is clear that Friedrich, otherwise a representative of the ideas of the Enlightenment, was less interested in the emancipation of the lower orders. For he considered too much education as being rather a danger for the survival of the general polity, and, moreover, he was concerned about greater mobility of - especially - the farming community, the peasants. Thus we find it clearly written in a Cabinet letter addressed to von Zedlitz, the minister responsible from 1771 for Church and School Affairs: "On the lowlands it is sufficient if they learn to read and to write a little: if they, however, know too much, then they will be running to the towns and wanting to become secretaries and so on." (10)

The official school policies can be particularly clearly heard in a speech the Minister, von Zedlitz, gave in 1777, entitled "Concerning patriotism as a topic in education in monarchies" (11). In this speech, it is disclosed that Friedrich the Second, too, was, in the end, aiming at an education which would bring forth loyal subjects, that is, at education for patriotism: "Patriotism must, in my view, be taught just as religion..." Both the teacher of religion and the teacher of patriotism must "kindle the spirit of benevolence and raise this to become a practical virtue" (12). Quite consciously, patriotism and religion are being put to use here as means of influencing in order to attain national political goals.

In the Roman Catholic areas, it is, in addition, a question of the so-called "Prussianisation", that is, integration of the former autonomously ruled areas into the Prussian state. And Friedrich's interest, often stressed, in supervising compulsory schooling after the Seven Years' War is clearly to be understood as motivated by military political concerns, as he had not succeeded, due to the general lack of education amongst his subjects, in promoting a sufficient number of soldiers to more senior ranks.

The reform era in Prussia, as in the rest of Germany, attains its climax in the aftermath of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic challenge and new reform of the world. The impetus from abroad mobilised the desire at home and the necessity to modernize. Whilst, in the south and east, consolidating a new and enlarged state and integrating many new areas were in the foreground, it was a question in Prussia, following the catastrophic defeat of 1806, of rebuilding a state that had been destroyed. The intensity of the reforms in Prussia, termed by the later French Minister of Education, Victor Cousin, in 1831 "the classical country of barracks and schools", can be judged by the fact that its elementary school system in general and its realisation of compulsory education in particular were models or pacemakers for most German states and in the second third of the 19th. century were indeed at the centre of international attention.

If we, at this point, draw a balance up to now, then we see that the motives which were dominant in the call for introducing compulsory education were exclusively of a political nature. Only the type of political motive varied and showed itself as a one of state politics, of religious politics, of national politics or of military politics. It will not pass by the critical reader that one variant of politics which one would have at least expected is missing: educational politics.

This clearly political dominance of motives appears, at the beginning of the 19th. century, to retreat in the Prussian reforms, and educational arguments seem to appear which, at least, push aside the political motives. Does this change in the 19th. century?

If one considers the development of the public elementary schools and compulsory schooling in the 19th. century, three rough phases can be distinguished. At first there was a real boom in the whole educational system. State and educational reformers appeared, if for different reasons, to cooperate in unusual harmony and to take up and put into effect the intellectual new ideas and tendencies incorporated in the Enlightenment and New Humanism.

On the part of the State, there was, in particular, interest in a complete national education as a consequence of the war, that had been lost, against Napoleon. This desire for education of the so-called national character was supported by the German Romanticism movement, which extolled the concept of the people and its importance in history and as the creator of culture and education. Thus Johann G. Fichte refers specifically in his "Speeches to the German Nation" of 1808, to the importance of the elementary school and general public education in developing the nation. Also, the sovereignity of the people, attained in the French Revolution, served as a legitimation for education for everyone.

Simultaneously, at a time when the people were becoming actors in history's events, when the public army was created (Scharnhorst), when the farming community was becoming independent (Stein) and when the self-administration of towns was being set up, the central idea of New Humanism of pure education won recognition. Such important reformers as Wilhelm von Humboldt (although concentraing rather on higher education) call for a reformation of the elementary school system and for general compulsory education (13).

The New Humanists unite the idea of general and formal education with the concept of independent activity and Fichte's and Pestalozzi's programme of general public education.

These ideas find their concrete expression in the Prussian Education Bill, an all-encompassing Bill put forward in 1819 by Joh. Wilh. Süvern (14), conceiving the elementary school and the grammar school as, it is true, single units, but which were to be understood as school stages following on from each other in a unified national school system. General compulsory schooling is thus not only a necessary prerequisite in a well-functioning education system and the basis of that education, but also, in the long term, the basis for a society that is more mobile and more free.

At this point of our cursory glance through the history of compulsory education in Germany, an educational motive does indeed raise its head: compulsory education is, for the first time, seen no longer in the sense of political domestisization and disciplining (and thus as a means of coercion and imposition, from above, of having to fit into the state and society), but is seen as serving freedom and the emancipation of man. Compulsory education appears no longer as an obligation of those growing up to subjugate themselves to political demands, but as the duty of the state to help each individual person to attain his full humanity.

This reformatory phase did not last long, however, and the educational motive soon disappeared in the millstones of political administration. Parallel to the political development at home, there was also a step taken backwards in the educational system, in particular in the area of elementary schooling and in the way compulsory education was dealt with at the beginning of the Restoration Era. Thus Süvern's Bill, too, did not advance further than the planning stage. The question of compulsory education was, in the following fifty years, put at the mercy of the mutual feuds between liberal and conservative clerical powers in politics and society.

That schools, in contrast to the ideal reform expectations at the start of the century, following the changes in the power structure of the state, did indeed once again take on the function of guaranteeing the power structure, that they were close to suffocating in the jungle of the administration, is often considered to be the educational political disaster of the 19th. century (15). In any case, the return to the political motivation behind compulsory schooling becomes evident, it only becoming even more subtle and enriched by further varieties: power politics, social politics and party politics.

Thus we can note a further general restriction in the elementary school system following the Revolution of 1848, which had been caused, it has often been stated, by an excess of education amongst the population (16). One will have to agree with Schulenberg (1970) that the school became very quickly "an instrument of society", that is, of those circles which had regained power after 1848. This is, moreover, also emphasized, apart from the so-called Stiehl Regulations of 1854, in a later Royal Order to the State Ministry when it is a question, following the nullification of the Socialists' Laws, of "making the school useful in each of its individual stages in order to counteract the development of socialist and communist ideas". And furthermore: "First and foremost the school, via the cultivation of piety and love of one's own country, will have to form the basis for a healthy attitude towards, as well, the relationships of the state and those of society" (17).

Certainly, one cannot overemphasize the efforts taken by teachers such as Adolf Diesterweg and Wilhelm Wander for the development of the teaching profession and the future of elementary schools. Not least, these efforts led to the regulations - a "ritardando in the history of schooling" (Spranger) - being annulled in 1872. Without any doubt, national integration, now necessary following the formation of the German Empire, as well as the requirements of industry and the military services played a not unimportant role in this decision.

As is well known, the words of a journalist were already current in 1866, stating that one could thank the Prussian elementary school for having won the battle of Königsgrätz. Once again, politics take on an important role, whether in the form of economic politics or whether in the form of power politics.

Thus after the euphoric reforms at the beginning of the century and after the reaction in the 50 years in the middle of the century, there were now, in the final third of the 19th. century, once again considerable efforts to get through, finally, compulsory education throughout the Prussian empire (18).

True, it was only in the Weimar Constitution of 1919 - Article 145 - and in the Elementary School Act of 1920 (Article 1) that, for the first time in German history, a four-year period of compulsory education was set down in a law, standardized and binding for all the German states, and thus the path prepared for a "real institution for the education of the population" (Friedrich Paulsen).

Taking the necessity of allowing all children to go to school and of guaranteeing this if need be by the State from the principles of the democratic Constitution, one hoped at the same time, with teaching corresponding to this, to stabilize precisely this constitutional structure.

However, general compulsory schooling offered, hardly more than a dozen years later, the National Socialists a welcome instrument to use effectively education and schools in the service of their ideology. In 1938 compulsory education for all children who were German nationals was extended to eight years and thus the ideological influencing of German youth - according to the ideas of National Socialism - was guaranteed from the point of view of educational politics and was embodied in the school institutions.

After the Second World War, schooling - but not compulsory schooling - developed in two different directions: in the Soviet Occupation Zone (today the GDR, the German Democratic Republic), the general Sovietization and centralization led to radical changes. Important for us in this context is the creation of a comprehensive school (1946) with an elementary school of eight years. This was developed in the sixties to the form it has today, a 10 year polytechnic school, compulsory for all children.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, one retained an eight year period of compulsory education immediately following the war. The attempts to extend compulsory education, these being particularly justified by the well-known economic-political demands of a society in the throws of swift changes caused by advanced technology and of a society requiring specialist knowledge and technological know-how, were fulfilled, for the present, in the year 964. In the so-called "Hamburg Agreement", all the states of the Federal Republic agreed to declare the ninth year of schooling as compulsory throughout the Republic and to permit a tenth year of schooling (19).

Our cursory overview which, certainly, requires being differentiated in many ways, has nevertheless shown us that schools and compulsory education were and are surely organised in order to attain specific goals, and these not goals set by the individual person. If the efforts, present at least as starting-points, to spread compulsory education for all under Karl the Great, served, as state politics, to strengthen the Franconian Empire, for Luther it was a question of religion politics to force through the Reformation, and in the Age of Absolutism a question of power politics with regard to centralising power and educating subjects as subjects. In Friedrich the Great's Prussia, in addition to these goals of power politics, the national politics of enkindling patriotism and the military politics of Prussianisation of the conquered territories stood in the foreground. If compulsory education during the Prussian era of reform at the begining of the 19th. century appeared, finally, to stand in the service of freedom and emancipation, it became, as the century continued, very quickly used for power politics, social politics and party politics by the conservative powers who were fighting to strengthen their position. Whilst one hoped, in the Weimar Republic, that the young democracy would take root throughout the population for constitutional political motives, compulsory education was misused only a few years later by Hitler, for ideological political motives, as an instrument of National Socialism. Today it appears that the acquisition of specialist ability and technological know-how stand in the foreground.

So we need not be surprised if our thoughts concerning compulsory education agree almost exactly with the interpretation, dominant from at least the 18th. century, of the institution "school" as having changed "from an ecclesiasticum to a politicum". School is from then on seen as a "function of society", as an institution whose tasks are fulfilled in qualifications, socialisation, selection and legitimation (20). That this socio-political or sociological interpretation of the school is apt, especially as regards the question of compulsory schooling, is more than obvious. Decreed by the state, it is a one-sided influencing of the adolescent generation, who are even forbidden the possibility of defending themselves against their state which imposes itself on them from above and of deciding against the school. The sociological analysis of the school reflects, however, only the factual reality, that is, the political and social determining effected by the school, and the specific theme of compulsory education makes this factual state of affairs especially clear. Seen from a pedagogical point of view, there appears to be only one facit possible, and that is one of resignation: pedagogical arguments play a fearsomely minor role in the history of compulsory educaion. This facit becomes, however, even more fearsome when one notes the wretchedness with which educationalists react to the supremacy of politics and to the social scientific analyses, dominant today, of educational facts. Instead of bringing convincing pedagogical arguments to the fore, they flee into utopias that fail to appreciate social reality and demand that schools be abolished or society deschooled (21).

This is not the time and place to go into the starry-eyed character of such proposals; it must rather suffice to formulate a concluding thought which may enrich the pedagogical debate. If one considers compulsory education nowadays, embodied in law, more with regard to the formal aspect of an institution safeguarding the democratic constitutional rights of equal opportunity, the right to education and the development of one's personality, and if one takes literally the rights guaranteed by Constitutional Law, in particular with respect to the State, then one's eyes are opened to what Ballauff refers to in his informative book on the "Functions of the School" (1980), that is, to education understood as "incorporation into thinking, into mental relationships".

The concepts of duty and constraint are, in principle, un-pedagogical and an education which has been forced upon one is, in itself, a contradiction of terms. Education and culture can only thrive in a climate of freedom and can only be realised where they are considered a right and not a duty. If one wished to call upon major witnesses from the German cultural history, then one would find them to an especially high degree in the Age of Classical Idealism - one only has to think of Humboldt Schiller.

Precisely in today's situation, in which the wish increases in strength for "a society in which people meet each other as 'persons', act together and continually communicate together about their actions" (Böhm 1985, 157), it appears absolutely necessary that school and compulsory schooling are understood less as a "politicum" and more as a "pedagogicum" and to put them in the service of free and personal education. As long as this does not happen, the scepticism of critical educationalists is truly justified when they put the question: "Education despite school?" (Fischer 1975) or "Education despite institutions?" (Weigand 1983), or - referring to the topic of our paper: School despite compulsory schooling?

Notes

1. cf. Wattenbach-Lewison 1953, p. 44-49 and p. 77-81.
2. cf. Schmid 1892/1970, p. 145-232; Fleckenstein 1974, p. 69-73.
3. Luther (1524), in: Clemen (ed.) 1967, p. 443.
4. Luther (1530), in: Clemen (ed.) 1959, p. 177.
5. This is a central theme in Leschinsky/Roeder's book (1976), esp. p. 44.
6. An excellent example is the Gotha School Decree of 1642. Printed in: "Zur Geschichte der Volksschule", Vol. 1, p. 63-76
7. The principle of compulsory schooling was first realised in the central German states (Anhalt-Bernburg 1607, Weimar 1619). In the middle

of the century a number of other State School Decrees followed. In Prussia, the later exemplary state in this respect, it was only at the beginning of the 18th. century in the reign of the Soldier King Friedrich Wilhelm I and especially in the middle of the 18th. century that similar school decrees were issued. With the "General Edict concerning Compulsory Schooling" of 28 September 1717, Friedrich Wilhelm made the first attempt to regulate, by law, the general obligation to go to school in the Kingdom of Prussia.
cf. Deutsche Schulgesetzgebung vol. 1, p. 91; Hettwer 1965; Zur Geschichte der Volksschule Vol 1/1972.

8. Printed in: Zur Geschichte der Volksschule Vol 1/1972, p. 161-166.
9. ibid. p. 141-160
10. Quoted by Böhm 1985a, p. 191.
11. Printed in: Fertig 1979, p. 3-18
12. ibid. p. 7.
13. cf. Humboldt 1792.
14. Printed in: Zur Geschichte der Volksschule Vol II, p. 7-10.
15. This argument cannot be totally accepted when one considers more closely the actual development. Rather, reforms that had been begun (included in these being the specific control over compulsory education) were slowly and constantly realised despite Restoration and the move towards Conservatism. Cf. Nipperdey 1983, p. 463.
16. Whilst compulsory schooling in Bavaria was indeed raised from six to seven years in 1856, the reaction in Prussia is shown in the so-called Stiehl Regulations of 1854 which throw back the elementary school to its former position as a school for reading and writing. cf. Zur Geschichte der Volksschule Vol II, p. 22 and p. 23-31.
17. Quoted by von Bremen 1905, p. 230.
18. With reference to Prussia cf. Klewitz 1981; to Bavaria cf. Reble 1979.
19. cf. Böhm/Tenorth 1977, p. 84.
20. cf. Brinkmann 1980.
21. cf. Böhm 1979; PrecYawski 1984.

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ROMA, IL COLLEGIO NAZARENO. – I metodi educativi delle scuole calasanziane furono profondamente diversi da quelli dei collegi e delle altre istituzioni gesuitiche, per il carattere paterno della disciplina pedagogica, volta a ottenere i suoi risultati con la persuasione più che con l'assoluta obbedienza, e per la particolare cura verso la scuola primaria.

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# THE HISTORY OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN GERMANY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Karl-Heinz Guenther - Gert Geissler

In Germany the idea of compulsory education originates from early history. In most of the German school orders, compulsory education can be found since the Reformation as a moral appeal saying to the parents that it was their duty as a citizen and Christian to send their children to school. Beginning in the middle of the 17th century, legal stipulations on school attendance were elaborated in the central German small states first, then in the Protestant north of Germany especially, and finally in the Catholic south, so that at the beginning of the 19th century, compulsory education existed in almost all German states, or the parents were obliged to ensure elementary schooling for their children. In Prussia, for example, this development was demonstrated by the "Verordnung" of 28 September, 1717, the "General-Landschulreglement" of 1763, the "Allgemeine Landrecht" of 1794, and the "Kabinettsordre" of 14 May, 1825.

The reasons for these efforts taken at an early stage compared with other European regions and aimed at providing the growing generation with compulsory education as completely as possible are manifold and especially linked with specific developments in political and spiritual fields. Due to the confrontation between Reformation and counter-Reformation, it had been necessary for the sovereigns very soon to intensify the religious training and education of their vassals; respective preconditions had to be created at the elementary schools making the pupils able to read and giving an introducation into the valid catechism. By teaching a specific religious commitment, the confessionalized school created a spiritual vice needed in the regionally scattered German feudal states. At the same time, the absolutist rulers considered schools as a means to maintain their influence on the rural population in their disputes with the aristocracy. When foreign territories were annexed - and this happened in Prussian history rather frequently -, this annexation had to be consolidated by a respective school system. Additionally, duodecimo princes ruling small courts wanted to make cultural representation by establishing a well-organised school system. It was in these small states in particular (examples are the courts of Gotha, Weimar, Koethen, Dessau) where progressive developments in spiritual-cultural fields were promoted and recognized by the rulers frequently; improvements in school systems were also facilitated there because military ambitions resulting in enormous burdens on the budgets of the big territorial states had no ground there, and the small territories of their states facilitated administration and organisation. Under these specific conditions, the elementary school systems in these states could develop comparatively well and achieve a level remarkable for that time owing to the fact that these states were affected by war damage or casualties only to a smaller extent.

Due to feudal bonds imposed on the masses and economically forced child labour, however, compulsory education could not be implemented completely in any of these states. Far into the 19th century, the ruling class had no existential wish to implement it because the level of productive forces, in agriculture in particular, did not require manpower able to read and write. Thus the amount of money spent on the elementary school systems normally was lower thean the material possibilities, especially when, like in Prussia, the state wanted to spend on elementary schooling as little as possible, and the communities were made responsible for financing.

As far as the scope of knowledge provided at school was concerned, it was limited to a minimum based on the requirements of the confirmation essentially. When progressive forces began to go beyond this minimum in the wake of Enlightenment and presented a conception of general education linked with the ideal of the universally developed personality, these humanist endeavours were opposed by means of a number of decrees and reactionary publications calling them'demands for excessive education'. In reality, however, such an 'excessive education' did not exist at all when taking the facts into account that part of children of school age did not attend school, other children did not attend school because their parents could not pay the school fees (see Roenne, p. 647), the lessons were given in the early morning or late in the evening during harvest time or were not given at all.

Despite these limitations, the German elementary school system in the 19th century was characterized by a high efficiency compared with leading capitalist countries. In Prussia, for example, compulsory education existed for 4/5th of all children in 1837 (see Mueller, p. 158). In the same year, there was one 'Volksschule' (primary school) per 560 inhabitants and one elementary teacher per 79 pupils (see Roenne, p. 236). A small number of pupils not attending public schools had private teachers. The situation was very different in various regions. Especially in industrial regions and in Berlin, there was a lack of schools - in 1875, there was only one teacher per more than 120 pupils in the residential areas of the workers in Leipzig and Chemnitz (see Rammings, p. 505), and it was in these areas in particular where the parents were dependent on the gainfull employment of their children.

In the second half of the 19th century, however, they succeeded in eliminating illiteracy to a large extent, also by means of minimum lessons for gainfully employed children in factory schools. In the middle of the century, there were still regions with a relatively high percentage of illiterate persons; these differences, however, were eliminated rather speedily owing to new demands in the capitalist industry and agriculture. When conscripts were examined in the German Reich in 1901, they found only 131 reservists who had not attended any school (see "Das Volksschulwesen", p. 8). According to statistical data (see ibid., p. 10), the situation in Prussia at that time was as follows: 93 per cent of children of school age attended public primary schools, 5.5 per cent other educational institutions; 82,638 pupils - that is 1.35 per cent - attended school only temporarily, 10,672 mentally or physically handicapped children could not attend school and 548 did not attend school unlawfully (see ibid., p. 10).

As a rule, there was eight-year compulsory education, exceptions were Bavaria and Wuerttemburg (seven years) or Anhalt (nine years) (see Tews, p. 46) at the and of the 19th century; this was linked with a teaching programme being comprehensive for that time. At the primary schools in almost all German states, the following subjects were taught: religion, writing, reading, arithmetic, basic lines of geometry, drawing, history, geography, biology,singing, physical education, classes in sewing and needlework for girls (see ibid., p. 67), then lessons in manual skills and sports. However, the efficiency of these programmes was limited considerably because of the lack of teachers; this lack resulted from growing birth rates and only small progress made in teacher training. According to statistical data, there was one teacher per 63 children in the towns of the German Reich and one teachter per 68 children in the countryside in 1906 (see Mueller, p. 288). Legal stipulations in the states proceeded from 50 to 80 pupils in one class (see "Das Volksschulwesen"). The number of one-class schools (in 1878, two thirds of all schools in the German Reich had been one-class schools), however, diminished considerably (see Mueller, p. 287). In Prussia in 1906, 2.5 per cent of pupils in the towns still attended one-class schools and 17 per cent in the countryside. More than 400,000 the about six million pupils at primary schools in Prussia in 1906 attended eight-class schools (see Lewin, p. 439).

In the Weimar Republic, compulsory education was further developed owing to the efforts of progressive political and pedagogical forces and also of the ruling class with a view to political education and to creating a potential of manpower in line with the capitalist development of productive forces. Especially the extension of biology and respective methodical experiments and the establishment of workshops and small gardens at schools were to satisfy higher demands of the education of the producers, arising from technological development (see "Geschichte", p. 589).

In Prussia and Saxony, compulsory education was extended to three-year attendance of vocational schools. The teacher training was improved. In Saxony, for example, it was made at a university, technical college or pedagogical institute linked with these establishments (see Sachsens, p. 127 ff.). Primary school attendance was free of charge and owing to some democratic structural changes in the educational system, the educational opportunities of a part of primary school pupils were improved. Totally, however, the 'isolation as an elementary school and school for the poor' ("Bericht", p. 41) could not be eliminated; this was also admitted by senior officials at the end of the 1920s. Differences in quality as to the implementation of compulsory education could not be eliminated neither. More than 40 per of primary school pupils lived in the countryside and attended schools with rather uniform structures. 20 per cent of pupils living in the countryside attended one-class schools (see ibid., p. 132 ff.). It was only Saxony, Baden and Strelitz where one-class schools did not exist anymore (see Eckhardt, p. 36). During the world economic crisis, the situation of the pupils at primary schools deteriorated considerably. The means to be spent on the primary school system were reduced drastically, the number of places of employment for teachers was reduced, and this was compensated by increased numbers of pupils in one class and an increased number of lessons to be given by the teachters.

After the defeat of fascism in 1945, the task was - in compliance with the progressive tradition of compulsory education in Germany - to provide compulsory education with a consistently scientific content for the first time in German history, to eliminate all militaristic, chauvinist and racist ideas, and to implement it with the same quality for all children. In line with the democratic and Socialist character of the newly emerging society, an educational system had to be created providing all children with equal opportunities thus being an integrated system, and taking social policy measures in order to promote the children of workers and farmers in particular who had always been discriminated in the field of education so far.

In the law on the democratization of the German school of 1946 respective stipulations on compulsory education were given an new version (see law on democratization, p. 208 ff.). This law stipulated the compulsory eight-class primary school for all Laender and Provinzen of the territory of the future German Democratic Republic; the following sujects had to be taught: German, history, local history and geography, geography, biology, physics, chemistry, mathematics, foreign languages, art lessons and polytechnical lessons, music instruction and physical education. Thus the mostcomprehensive teaching programme adopttions on compulsory education only related to the duration of schooling and the acquisition of basic cultural abilities but not certain subjects. It was for the first time that a German school law stipulated the provision of children living in the countryside with the same educational opportunities like children living in the town, and to implement compulsory education with the same quality for all children according to the possibilities of the stats. Three-year attendance of vocational schools was also made compulsory for all young people except those attending a secondary school ar technical school. Based on that law, the one-class school in the countryside was eliminated within a decade orso. In 1945/46, almost 40 per cent of all primary schools on the territory of the future GDR had been one-class schools in the countryside - this was the same share of these schools in the total number of schools as in the German Reich in 1921/22 (see "Bericht", p. 132) - in 1960/61, however, this most backward type of schools was already a matter of the past.In the town and in the countryside, for boys and girls, the same educational objective was adopted, our schools provided general education of the same contents and scope everywhere, all children were given the opportunity to undergo advanced education. Thus the aspirations of many generations of progressive German teachers were fulfilled, this was the achievement of what they had fourght for. Already at the beginning of the 1950s, a completely new quality of compulsory schooling was initiated by introducing ten-class schools. The first schools of this kind had been opened on 1st September, 1951; in the following years, they were integrated into the educational system gradually, and in 1959, they were made general compulsory schools through the law on the Socialist development of the school system in the German Democratic Republic, designated as ten-class general polytechnical secondary schools (short term: secondary school) (see law on the Socialist development, p. 317). This type of school made it possible to provide scientific general education in line with the development of modern productive forces comprehensively, and additionally, compulsory polytechnical education was given a new direction, secondary schools were considered to be schools of a polytechnical character. By linking the lessons with socially profitable work in line with the age of the children or young people - with productive work beginning from the 7th grade -, the horizon of schooling was made far broader than that of the old bourgeois schools.

Due to insufficient material preconditions, compulsory secondary education had only existed in various counties and districts at the beginning (see ibid., p. 320); to implement compulsory secondary education was an extremely complicated and exacting task that could only be solved with the help of all our people and in connection with a successful development in all fields of the society. At present, more than 95 per cent of eight-class pupils go to the ninth class, and 99 per cent of school leavers from the 10th class learn a profession or undergo advanced training. Owing to the purposeful conceptional development and material equipment of secondary schools, the quality of education and training has been improved continuously in the last few years. Today, the average number of pupils per one class is somewhat more than 20. Thus it was made possible more and more comprehensively that 'the school provides all children irrespective of the social position of their parents, of ideological views or religion, with the same high standard of education, a profound scientific general education consisting of education in the fields of social sciences and art, languages and natural sciences, polytechnical lessons and physical education; this is made in the ten-class school for all children of our people (M.Honecker, 1978, p. 871).

The basic personnel-related and material preconditions for these schools were created in the 1960s. The law on the integrated Socialist educational system, adopted in 1965, created the basis of the present-day educational system. One of the objectives of the law was to provide all citizens with the opportunity to pass from one educational level to the higher one up to the institutions of higher education, that is, universities and colleges (law on the integrated Socialist educational system, p. 572) where they may develop all their skills and talents. This law was the first one in the history of the German educational system, which covered all state and social educational institutions and endeavours with a view to developing the universally developed personality in an integrated manner. Thus the law also showed recognizable prospects for continuously developing the same right to education in the advanced Socialist society.

The law stipulated compulsory general secondary education and compulsory vocational training: as to the last-mentioned case, the law covered not only time-related but also conceptional items (see ibid., p. 575, 588). As already stipulated in the law of 1959, two-year vocational training for the ten-class general polytechnical school leavers and three-year vocational training for the relatively small number of pupils leaving the school before the tenth class, were made compulsory. Selected subjects of general education continue to exist in both forms of vocational training. Compulsory vocational education begins on the basis of an apprenticeship contract (see first executory provision, p. 628; legal reference book, p. 262) and thus it relates to almost all young people living in our republic except those attending establishments of advanced education. Since the law of 1965, all young people attending establishments of advanced education like extended secondary schools, classes ending with the abitur examination in establishments of vocational training or special classes ending with the abitur examination, are also subject to compulsory education and the respective stipulations.

Based on these legal stipulations, the idea of compulsory education has been given a comprehensive scope and content unprecedented in the history of German education. It is not necessary to mention in particular that these legal stipulations on compulsory education are implemented on the basis of governmental measures like the construction of schools, teacher training, the provision of all necessary material, financial and personnel-related conditions without any limitation, induding appropriate possibilities of the education of mentally or physically handicapped children, and also including the comprehensive promotion of preschool education in crèches or kindergartens. These are not compulsory institutions. All children whose parents wish so ca attend kindergarten; the attendance is free of charge like that of all educational institutions. At present, more than 90 per cent of children at the respective age are using this opportunity.

Compulsory education at secondary schools, vocational training and education ending with the abitur examination are seen in connection with the future prospects of the young people social policy as pursued by our Socialist state. Every secondary school leaver is entitled to learn a profession. After vocational training, all young skilled workers are legally entitled to get a job in their vocations, the same applies to graduates of universities, colleges or technical schools. In the Socialist society of the German Democratic Republic, educational policy and social policy are seen as a unity.

Today, our secondary school leavers are equipped with highly developed, modern and scientific general education linked with many possibilities of differentiation and being the basis of attending all establishments of edvanced education and of active participation in social life.

At present, the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the GDR is cooperating with pedagogues working in practice and scientists of most various fields to further improve the contents of general education. Thus compulsory education, with maintaining, updating and modernizing its "golden funds", its permanent and decisive basic contents, will see conceptional changes in line with the developments in society and sciences and with the scientific-technological revolution under Socialist conditions; they will determine the profils of compulsory general education beyond the turn of our century with the aim of further improving the educational level of our people.

We hold "comprehensive scientific general education closely linked with life, general education in which learning and productive work, theory and practice are closely linked, is an imperative precondition for preparing our young people for their profession, vocational life, advanced education, for their personal life and their active und conscious participation in the construction of our society. Our general education is orientated toward basic knowledge that brings about the recognition of laws and interdependences, the understanding of basic theoretical findings relating to nature, society and thinking" (M. Honecker , 1986, p. 10, in the following ibid. ff.).

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# RESUME

En remontant aux débuts de l'histoire scolaire d'Allemagne les auteurs expliquent les raisons du niveau relativement élevé de l'enseignement primaire existant dans les petits Etats allemands féodaux. Ils exposent par la suite la réalisation de la scolarité au XIX$^{e}$ siècle pour conclure que l'enseignement primaire de cette époque avait atteint une capacité assez remarquable. Les auteurs abordent ensuite certaines orientations de l'instruction primaire dans la République de Weimar où le développement de la scolarité obligatoire se poursuivait, comme dans le passé, sous la pression des forces politiques et pédagogiques progressistes et au service de la classe dominante, dans le double but dàssurer l'instruction politique et de créer une main-d'oeuvre correspondant au niveau des forces productives capitalistes.

Pour ce qui est de la mise en place de l'enseignement socialiste en R.D.A. les auteurs soulignent que dès en 1946, la "Loi sur la démocratisation de l'enseignement allemand" a instituionnalisé le plus grand programme que l'école d'enseignement général a jamais connu dans son histoire et qui fut obligatoire pour tous les enfants. Ils rappellent le fait qu'après la mise en oeuvre relativement rapide de la réforme de l'enseignement en milieu rural, le même but d'éducation était défini pour filles et garcons dans les villes aussi bien qu'à la campagne et que l'école donnait à tous les enfants une instruction générale non différenciée quant à son contenu ni au programme, tout en leur offrant les mêmes possibilités d'accès qux établissements venant compléter l'enseignement général. En concluant les auteurs expliquent la structure de la scolarité de dix classes obligatoire en R.D.A. en mettant l'accent sur l'effort déployé actuellement pour perfectionner le contenu de l'enseignement général.

# THE ADVENT OF UNIVERSAL COMPULSORY ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES

## D. K. Jones

Reflecting on the condition of the growing industrial towns in the light of the Census of 1851, Joseph Kay, younger brother of England's first educational civil servant, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, wrote

> Independently of any statistics, if you go out at any hour into the crowded streets of London, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Birmingham, or any other great town, you will see numbers of young children of both sexes, filthy, wretchedly clothed, rude in manners and language, and exhibiting all the signs of poverty, neglect and degradation. [1]

It was ultimately this scenario which was to persuade English politicians, churchmen and educational reformers that some form of compulsory legislation was needed in order to remove these children, who went neither to school nor to work, from the streets.

Before this happened, however, other methods of persuading the poor to send their children to school, of a voluntary nature, were tried, as will be seen. Earlier in this century, however, there was a considerable amount of interest shown in possible models for a national system of education and, reflecting this ferment the Radical M.P., J.A. Roebuck, on introducing his resolutions into Parliament in 1833, proposed that education should be provided by the state for all children between 7 and 14, quoting the example set by Prussia, France and the State of New York in support of his arguments. Significantly enough, however, he also called for compulsory school attendance. In the 1850s, in contrast, when the debate on the provision of mass, elementary education began in earnest the National Public School

Association, a body composed mainly of Liberal, Nonconformist, Manchester businessmen whose national figure-head was Richard Cobden, believing that the main deterrent to universal school attendance was the obligation to pay school pence (fees), campaigned for a system of free rather than compulsory schooling. However, when giving evidence before the Select Committee on Manchester and Salford Education in 1853 the Reverend Dr. William McKerrow, a Free Presbyterian from Scotland, who spent a life-time campaigning for national education, conceded that, 'I do not see any right that any individual has to bring up his children to be a nuisance to society.' (Hinton 1854, p 90). Such views were reinforced by the mid-century interpreter of Utilitarianism, John Stuart Mill when, in his essay On Liberty, reiterating a conviction expressed earlier in 1848, in his Principles of Political Economy, he complained that

> It still remains unrecognised that to bring a child into existence without a fair prospect of being able not only to provide food for its body, but instruction and training for its mind, is a moral crime, both against the unfortunate offspring and against society; and that if the parent does not fulfil this obligation, the State ought to see it fulfilled, at the charge, as far as possible of the parent.[4]

This was written in 1859, a timely intervention, because the 1860s witnessed a growing sense of crisis which helped to create a climate of opinion in which the idea of a national, compulsory, system of elementary education was far more acceptable than it had been in 1833.

The major cause of this change was the critical state of the growing industrial towns, as reflected in Joseph Kay's statement at the beginning of this paper.

A crucial factor in this process was the failure of an experiment which, had it succeeded, would have given a new lease of life to the system of educational provision for the poor as it had operated since 1833, namely the provision of schools by religious voluntary organisations, subsidised by a government grant. The events were as follows.

In 1864, inspired by a series of letters in the Manchester Guardian under the title 'The Present State of Popular Education in Manchester' written by Edward Brotherton, a former silk manufacturer turned philanthropist, a group of influential middle-class businessmen, both Anglican and Non-Conformist in religious persuasion established the Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society. Its object was to raise money by subscription and pay the school fees of the very children described by Joseph Kay, believing that their absence from school was due merely to the poverty of their parents. With this obstacle removed they hoped that these young people would be able to take advantage of the kind of education which better-off working class children, particularly those of skilled workers, already enjoyed, their ultimate objective being to establish free schools in the expectation that they would be inundated with working class children.[5]

The outcome, however, was very wide of the mark as J.A. Bremner informed the Manchester Congress of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in 1866:

> In place of finding an eager demand for grants beyond the means of supply, our aid was unappreciated by many of that very class whom it was most intended to benefit . . . . In round numbers we can only succeed in sending to school about fifty per cent whose circumstances entitle them to our aid.[6]

A similar experience was recorded by the Birmingham Education Society which had been funded two years after the Manchester and Salford body. Clearly something more than voluntary efforts subsidised by a government grant was needed if universal elementary education was to be achieved.

Meanwhile in 1869, the National Education League, a pressure group founded in Birmingham, largely by Nonconformist middle-class Liberals, adopted the National Public School Association's campaign of the 1850s for a free, secular, democratically controlled, rate supported system of national education. Reflecting the lessons learnt in the '60s, however, they also demanded that education should be made compulsory.

W.E. Forster, however, Vice-President of the Council and author of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, in Gladstone's Liberal government of 1865-74, although sympathetic to the demands for compulsory education, was anxious to make his Bill as uncontroversial as possible in order to ease its passage through Parliament. Consequently he provided for compulsory education but only as a permissive measure, allowing the new School Boards set up by the act to enforce it if they wished.

When the Conservatives came into power in 1874, however, Disraeli's education minister, Lord Sandon, a man of deep Christian conviction who had welcomed Forster's Act saw clearly that the voluntary schools were in danger of losing in the competition with the newly established, rate-supported Board Schools. Unlike the Liberals, the Conservatives saw the education question in rural, rather than urban terms, recognising in the Church of England voluntary schools a bastion of the rural social structure, dominated by a landowning gentry and the Anglican Church. They feared moreover the possible intrusion of popularly elected, radical School Boards, into their rural strongholds.[7] Another factor, which embarrassed philanthropically minded Conservatives in particular, was the failure of Read's Agricultural Children's Act to extend the factory acts to rural areas and end the scandal of the employment of young children in agricultural gangs.[8] Consequently, by 1876, the party normally associated with complete opposition to compulsory education for fear that it would threaten the rural labour supply, guided by pressure from the Archbishop of Canterbury, was beginning to recognise the virtues of compulsion. It was also realised that children who attended school regularly were likely to be more successful in the annual school examination and therefore, under the system of 'payment by results', would earn more money for the schools.

Lord Sandon's Act of 1876, however, which set up School Attendance Committees as an enforcement agency where none other existed, had many loop-holes. Admittedly it put the parent under a legal obligation to send his child to school. Moreover no child under ten was to be fully employed, nor any child between ten and fourteen unless he or she had passed Standard IV of the elementary school or made 250 attendances each year for a period of five years - the 'dunce's pass'. However, an act which failed to compell authorities to adopt compulsory by-laws and still permitted eight year old children to perform agricultural labour for six weeks in the year, disgusted not only Liberal but also Conservative philanthropists.[9]

Consequently when in 1880 the Liberals came back into power the ground had already been prepared for the Act devised by the Liberal Vice-President of the Council, A.J. Mundella, the Leicester-born hosiery manufacturer from Nottingham and M.P. for Sheffield.

Mundella effectively put an end to the farce of permissive compulsion by requiring all enforcement authorities which had not so far made by-laws to do so forthwith. Within five months of the passing of the act over 1,200 sets of by-laws were sanctioned and by 1881 only just over one hundred authorities, out of approximately three thousand, had failed to comply.

The attendance problem did not disappear overnight but the legal framework obliging the nation to educate its children had been firmly established.[10]

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## RESUME

Au milieu de l'époque victorienne, en Angleterre, les réformateurs de l'enseignement ne préconisaient pas, au départ l'education obligatoire. A partir des années 1840, les libéraux des classes moyennes de Manchester et, plus tard, de Birmingham, concentrerent leurs efforts pour qu'on assurât aux pouvres une scolarité élementaire gratuite, en croyant que l'obligation de payer les frais de scolarité, si bas qu'ils fussent, était le principal obstacle à l'éducation des pauvres. Les années 1860 cependant fournirent des expériences qui les amenèrent a changer de stratégie.

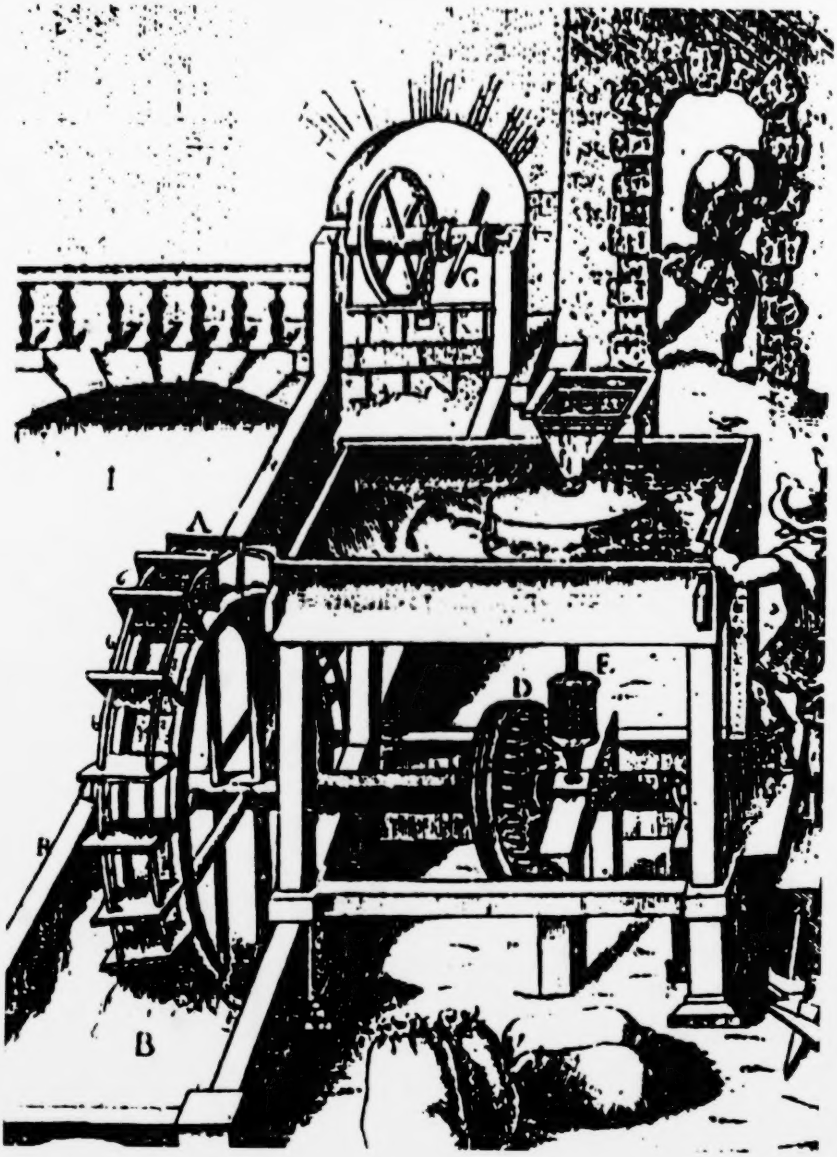
Les revélations faites par les grandes villes industrielles, mettant en évidence qu'un grand nombre d'enfants n'allaient ni à l'école, ni au travail, amenèrent les membres de la Société d'Aide à l'Education de Manchester (Manchester Education Aid Society) et la société d'éducation de Birmingham (Birmingham Education Society), dans le années 1860, à essayer de persuader ces enfants d'aller a l'école en payant les frais de scolarité. Cependant, quand cette stratégie échoua, ils se rendirent compte ensuite que l'éducation allait devoir devenir obligatoire.

Par conséquent, la loi sur l'éducation élémentaire (the Elementary Education Act) passée par le gouvernement libéral en 1870 permit aux conseils de l'enseignement primaire de faire appliquer la scolarité obligatoire par la loi, s'ils le désiraient.

Les régions agricoles commencèrent alors à soulever des inquiétudes avec l'échec de la loi de 1873 concernant les enfants de paysans (the Agricultural Children's Act); en effet, cette loi ne réussit pas à faire respecter l'assiduité de la part d'enfants vivant dans les zones rurales.

Les Conservateurs, alors au pouvoir, passèrent une loi, la loi Sandon en 1876, qui fit en suite que l'assiduite fût controlée par les comités d'assiduité scolaire, dans des zones où il n'y avait pas de conseils de l'enseignement primaire. Cette loi admettait un grand nombre d'exceptions et ne réussit pas à assurer l'assiduité; en conséquence, en 1880, le gouvernement libéral nouvellement formé passa une loi qui assurait l'assiduité a l'école de tous les enfants entre les âges de cinq et dix ans. Pour la première fois en Angleterre et au Pays de Galles, l'éducation était universelle et obligatoire aux yeux de la loi.

# MOLINO DE BAGNO D'ACQVA.



# GRADUAL REGULATION OF SCHOOLING AGE AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN HUNGARY SINCE 1777 UP TO NOW

Ottó Vág

The topic of this paper is to investigate the differences between schooling age and compulsory school attendance in the history of Hungarian education. The reason of this investigation is to discuss the general opinion, expressed also by myself(1), that we can speak about early childhood education as pre-school education only since compulsory education was decreed and since it is possible to differentiate between school age and pre-school age. The documents of the history of the educational system in Hungary are certifying that the notion of school age and of the age of compulsory education are not the same. Probably that is not a unique phenomenon in Hungarian history of education.

The first state regulation and at the same time the first undenominational regulation of the school system in Hungary was the Ratio Educationis of 1777(2). This regulation was decreed in the period of enlightened despotism by Maria Theresa of Habsburg, that time the Queen of Hungary (and Archduchess of Austria). This document followed an Austrian regulation of 1774(3), but it was prepared solely for Hungary. The authors of the Ratio Educationis feeled it necessary to establish vernacular schools (schola vernacula or schola nationalis) in villages with one teacher, in country-towns with two teachers and in towns with three teachers. At the seats of school districts was planned a normal school with four classes and four teachers. The start of schooling age and the period of school attendance was not regulated, but to go over into the grammar school (schola grammatica) was possible only after the child completed his/her 10th year.

The son of Maria Theresa, who succeeded she on the Hungarian throne, Joseph II, uncrowned King of Hungary and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, followed this educational policy. He ordered in 1789 already a compulsory education from 6 to 12 free of charge, not only for children of Catholic, but also of both Protestant, of Greek Orthodox and of Israelitic denominations(4). Against these regulations was a strong resistance from the side of the Hungarian nobility and of the Catholic Church, too. After the death of Joseph II (1790) were these regulations not realised.

Leopold II came to the crown (1790-1792). During of his reign the Hungarian diet of 1790-1791 founded a commission of education to prepare a bill on educational system. This commission, completed with several experts of education, introduced a bill in 1793. This bill suggested a basic education in elementary schools, which are available and free for all inhabitants of the country reagardless of class, nationality and religion(5). But the Royal Court rejected the bill. That time was the monarch already Francis I (in Austria: Francis II).

Shortly after the publication of the Politische Schulverfassung of 1805 for Austria(6), appeared an amandment of the Hungarian basic document of education, this time entitled Ratio Educationis Publicae(7). It was intruduced in November 1806. According to this regulation the school system starts with a two class elementary school, in villages with one, in country-towns with two teachers. In towns was ordered a third class, too, but according to this regulation to go over into the grammar school was possible already after the boy completed his 9th year. In contrary of Ratio Educationis of 1777, which served at this level both sex, the Ratio Educationis Publicae of 1806 organized isolated schools for girls, as it was possible. This later regulation still didn't decreed any compulsory school attendance but it came into question the school age. Children may visit the school after 6, and if they are very often ill, they may to visit school at the very most up to their age 12. That means that the suggested but not compulsory two class elementary school was to be visited between 6 and 12. If we compare the two documents of 1777 and of 1806, we see in the earlier the influences of enlightenment, in the second the influence of a conservative era, which strived after the codification of the status quo in education, too.

The Hungarian diet made an attempt to change this educational system. A new commision for education (1827) confirmed the bill of 1793(8), but it was rejected again by Francis I. More than a decades later (1839-1840) the diet delegated a commission to prepare a bill on elementary education(9). The speciality of the bill was that it started with the regulation of teachers' training. According to this plan confessions are to be obliged to establish teachers' training colleges: namely the Roman Catholic and the Greek Catholic Church together 9 colleges, the Calvinists 4, the Greek Orthodox Church 3, the Lutherans 2 and the Israelits 1. The colleges were planned on the expenses of the denominations with a state subvention, but according to the bill all colleges would be open for pupils of all religions. In this bill we find already the plan of regulation of compulsory school attendance: three classes are to be visited by boys from 6 to 12, by girls from 6 to 10. Separate schools were planned for both sexes.

The bill of 1843 was again rejected, the King was that time Ferdinand V (in Austria: Ferdinand I). Though the power could not avoide to regulate elementary education. In 1845 the Statthalterrat published an order on elementary schools(10). According to this regulation the elementary school has a lower grade (two years) and an upper grade (three years). The lower grade was planned for nearly all villages, the upper only for bigger communities, with better pecuniary conditions.

For all these regulations in 1777, in 1806 or in 1845 was characteristic that their had a legal effect only on Catholic schools and not on others. A general regulation, regardless of denomination, remained only a suggestion. Otherwise all these regulations didn't introduced any compulsory school attendance, only the notion of school age was defined from 1806 onwards.

After the revolution of 15 March 1848 new efforts had been made for educational progress. An important event was the General and Common Teachers' Meeting in July(11). It was general because all types of schools from infant school to university were represented and it was common because teachers were present regardless of their denomination. It was planned to establish schools by the state, it was planned a compulsory education from 6 to 12 for both sexes. Nearly at the same time, the minister of Religion and Public Education, baron József Eötvös (1813-1871), introduced a bill on elementary education in the Hungarian parliament(12). This bill suggested the compulsory school attendance for boys from 6 to 12, for girls from 6 to 10, in elementary schools financed by the communities. As language of teaching was planned mother tongue and Hungarian languages as subject for not Hungarian children. Religion was not accepted as a school subject, for religious instruction were obliged the clergymen. After an eight day discussion the chamber of deputies, accepted the bill with several amandments, but the Upper House, in which the Church had a strong influence, adjourned the discussion of the bill. The consequence was a prorogation of two decades.

After the collapse of the struggle for liberation and of the revolution, Hungary became a part of the Austrian Empire. In this period of the history of Hungary, from 1849 to 1867, in secondary education was some developement, but scarcely in primary education. Elementary schools were subordinated of ecclesiastical authorities.

The Compromise between Hungary and Austria in 1867 opened new possibilities for schooling, too. "This agreement was the result of compelling economic necessity rather than of a mutual understanding reached between the dynasty and the Hungarian nation. The Compromise was based on the awareness of the interdependence between Hungarian agriculture and Austrian industry."(13)

Illiteracy was in Hungary in 1867, in comparison of other European countries, very high. The proportion of people who were able to read and write was among the male population 41 %, among female population 25 %. These data demonstrates that efforts and regulations since 1777, during 90 years, had a very limited influence in the field of elementary education of the masses. The task was in the new situation to reorganize elementary education.

In the Hungarian Cabinet, formed after the Compromise, the Minister of Religion and Public Education was the same baron József Eötvös, who had this function already in 1848. His first effort was the regulation of elementary education by law. On the basis of a bill he introduced in the Hungarian parliament, this was accepted with some amandments in the Elementary Education Act (1868:XXXVIII.)(14). According to the Act, compulsory school attendance was prescribed from 6 to 12 in a daily six class elementary school, and from 12 to 15 in a continuation school (once a week), for both sexes. It was permitted to establish elementary schools by confessions, societies, privat persons, communities and by the state. Communities were obliged to establish elementary schools if confessions has no suitable schools at the settlement.

Minister J. Eötvös reported the Parliament in 1870 about public education. He stated that compulsory education (from 6 to 15) was effectuated only in 48,15 %. But the Ministry made efforts for future success. An important success was already a weekly paper of the Ministry for elementary teachers, not only in Hungarian language, but also in German, in Roumanian, in Slovakian, in Ruthenian, in Serbian and in Croatian languages, in free copies for all teachers.

After the death of József Eötvös (1871) his successors followed his politics, but there were also some changes, first of all the amandment of his realistic national policy. Ágoston Trefort who was the minister from 1872 to 1888, was generally interested for secondary and higher education and achieved success in this field.

In relation of compulsory education was a new event the regulation of pre-school education by law: Act on Infant Care (1891:XV)(15). This Act had different reasons (see my paper presented at the Conference in Oxford, 1983). On principle kindergarten, as educational institution of children from 3 to 6, was decleared as compulsory education. That was this time an illusion, of course, but kindergarten were means for the government to increase his influence in workers quarters and in regions with nationalities. The efforts on the basis of the Act of 1891 were not unsuccessful, though just before World War I the proportion of children from 3 to 6, visiting a kindergarten, was about 15-17 %.

Kindergarten education was not school education, rather pre-school education, the Act of 1891 emphasized that in kindergarten there is no teaching.

At the turn of the century the educational policy in Hungary abandoned from the liberal platform which was symbolized by the name of József Eötvös. Nationalistic ideas spreaded in educational policy. After the turn of the century increased the number of state elementary schools. In 1900 were 9,8 % of all elementary schools state schools, in 1910 already 16,7 %. The state elementary schools were established first of all in regions of the nationalities, though with Hungarian language of teaching. In 1907 was a rise of salaries in state elementary schools (Act 1907:XXVI). That was a success. In the same year another Act decreed to rise the salaries of teachers of elementary schools maintained by communities and parishes to the same level, too (Act 1907:XVII). Poor comunities and parishes had the possibility to ask a state subvention. That was again a success. But this subvention was not without conditions. Not Hungarian speaking elementary schools musted teach Hungarian language up to the end of the 4th class relatively perfectly, but that needed a teacher with perfect Hungarian knowledge. The rise of salaries of teachers served as means for Magyarization of not Hungarian elementary schools. The minister of education was that time Albert Apponyi (1846-1933), this act became known therefore as Lex Apponyi. Next year another Act (1908:XLVI) forbided to ask school-fee in elementary schools. That was in itself again a success, fulfilled an old social demand. The missing amount of schoolfees could be supplied again with a state subvention, if the school the conditions of Act 1908:XXVII fulfiled.(16)

Though the compulsory daily elementary school was a six class school, after the 4th class was a social selection. A small minority turned to the eight class secondary school (Gymnasium, Realschule), another minority to a higher elementary school (Bürgerschule) and the majority to the 5th and 6th class of elementary school. That was called trifurkational system in Hungarian school system and it was criticized very often.

After the collapse of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy, in the period of two revolutions (31 October 1918: bourgeois-democratic revolution; 21 March 1919: Hungarian Soviet Republic) was planned a school system with secular and state character, with a for all children unified and compulsory eight class elementary school from 6 to 14 and in the long run with a compulsory education from 3 to 18. Time was only for some practical arrangements: to rise the salary of teachers, to reduce the number of pupils in a class, to better the sanitary and financial circumstances of child care etc.(17) But as the Entente-Intervention overthrowed the revolutionary government, a conterrevolutionary power came into office and ruled during 25 years (1919-1944).

The conterrevolutionary government rejected the development of elementary education. The educational policy declared that for the lower class is enough a six year elementary school.(18) In 1921 was confirmed compulsory school attendance in the same way as it was regulated in 1868, the only change: the regular participation on religious services became a part of compulsory education(19). In 1926 the government decided to build five thousand new elementary school buildings in farmsteads and small villages, to reduce the high rate of illiteracy, but these were ungraded (one class) elementary schools. From 1928 onwards came into question to complete the six class school with two further classes. In 1940 only very few of the elementary schools had eight classes. In this year was the eight class elementary school codified(20), but this plan was realized only in bigger settlements. However the main problem remained: the eight class elementary school had the same "deadlock" character as the six class one and it was no change in trifurcational school system (social selection after 10).

At the turn of 1944 and 1945 the territory of Hungary was seat of war during more than six month. The country was in ruins, schoolbuildings too. About 50 % of elementary schools fall into ruins or was strongly demaged. The main task was the reconstruction of schoolbuildings and of their equipment.

After the liberation of Hungary in 1945 has come to pass a fundamental change in Hungarian elementary schooling. Still in August 1945 was decreed the establishment of an eight class compulsory general school(21). This new type of school included not only the former 6 or 8 class elementary schools, but also the higher elementary schools (Bürgerschule) and the lower classes of the grammar school (gymnasium), it became the unified primary school of children from 6 to 14. With this arrangement came to an end the trifurcal schools system, which was critisized since many decades. In June 1948 were secularized the schools(22), which were before in a big proportion denominational. As result of the fact that the eight class general (primary) school became undenominational was not only the lay character of primary education, but also the turn of many small ungraded elementary schools into unified schools devided into eight grades. From 1945 onwards were organized evening classes, also at primary school level, for workers who hadn't previously possibilities for learning. The new Constitution, proclaimed in 1949, declared first time in the history of Hungary the right of education and a free and compulsory general schooling(23).

In the eight class general (primary) schools are working in the lower classes (I - IV.) class teachers, in the upper classes (V - VIII.) subject teachers. Practically all school children are attending the general school and about 95 % of them are finishing their studies latest up to their year of 16. Primary schools are combined with day-time homes and for children of very small settlements were established boarding-schools. Children who finished their primary education continues their studies in 93 % on secondary level (in grammar schools, in vocational secondary schools, in schools of vocational training etc.)

The last regulation of compulsory education in Hungary is included in the new Act on Education (1985:I)(24). According to this Act school attendance is compulsory from 6 to 16. Pre-school education is a right of all children from 3 to 6. In preschool education, in primary and secondary education and in graduate training of higher education is no school-fee.

The conclusion of our investigation is that school age and age of compulsory schooling are different notions. At the start of regulation of schooling the generally desirable school attendance was included into the period of regulated school age (from 1806 onwards), later school age and compulsory school attendance were identical (form 1868 onwards) and nowadays is practically school age longer as compulsory school attendance.

In relation of the notion of pre-school education it can be proved that as the first institution for early childhood education (infant school) was established in Hungary (1828), school age was already regulated according to Ratio Educationis Publicae (1806): infant schools were in this relation pre-school institutions. Otherwise we learn some kind of parallelism between elementary schools and kindergartens (infant schools). In some of the best pre-school institutions we find still in the early 60-es of the last century children of school age (up to age 9). Therefore a clear distinction between school age and pre-school age was possible only after the Elementary Education Act of 1868. Nowadays is a distiction between pre-school age and school age within the educational system.

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# SUMMARY

The topic of this paper is to investigate the differences between schooling age and compulsory school attendance in the history of Hungarian education. The reason of this investigation is to discuss the general opinion that we can speak about early childhood education as pre-school education only since compulsory education was decreed. The documents of the history of the educational system in Hungary are certifying that the notion of school age and of the age of compulsory education are not the same. Probably that is not a unique phenomenon in Hungarian history of education.

The paper follows the different regulations and suggestions, bills and acts in the history of Hungarian schooling, from 1777, the first state regulation of education, onwards. The history of arrangements and discussions are led to the conclusion that school age and age of compulsory schooling are different notions. At the start of regulation of schooling the generally desirable school attendance was included into the period of regulated school age (from 1806 onwards), later school age and compulsory school attendance were identical (from 1868 onwards) and nowadays is practically school age longer as compulsory school attendance.

In relation of the notion of pre-school education it can be proved that as the first institution for early childhood education (infant school) was established in Hungary (1828), school age was already regulated according to Ratio Educationis Publicae (1806): infant schools were in this relation pre-school institutions. Otherwise we learn some kind of parallelism between elementary schools and kindergartens (infant schools). In some of the best pre-school institutions we find still in the early 60-es of the last century children of school age (up to age 9). Therefore a clear distinction between school age and pre-school age was possible only after the Elementary Education Act of 1868. Nowadays is a distinction between pre-school age and school age within the educational system.

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# THE DEBATE ABOUT THE INTRODUCTION OF COMPULSORY ELEMENTARY EDUCATION OF 1848 IN HUNGARY

## Sándor Komlósi

After several earlier unsuccessful attempts of measures and drafts concerning the introduction of compulsory elementary education, educational people raised this issue again during the 1848 Revolution in the hope of success.The matter in the form of a draft about elementary education for everyone was proposed by the president of the First General Assembly of Teachers and minister of Religion and Public Education baron József Eötvös after three and a half months in tenure. Together with the proposal of the draft to the House of Parliament he announced that he had not been able to obtain sufficient information on the state of educational institutions in the country since his appointment as minister as the church parishes had failed to send in information on his request.

The draft was published and distributed among the MPs. Subgroups of the representatives discussed the draft and proposed amendments after which the original text of the minister together with the amendments was taken to the House of Parliament for discussion.

In his exposition Eötvös stated as a basic principle that taking care of public education was one of the obligations of the state.From this he deduced three legal rights of the state: a/ the state has the right to force a parent to have his child educated, b/ the state has to impose general taxes on the citizens to have the necessary means to run free public education, c/ the state has the right to exercise supervision over any type of educational institution.In his opinion, the teaching of religion had to be done by the priests of the appropriate churches to be separated from the rest of education.In his draft Eötvös regarded as the basic institution of public education the church school run on community taxes,possible foundations and,if necessary, government support.Besides his plan also contained community public schools and supported the idea of church or private schools run on private resources as well.

The debate began by propsals from several MPs to postpone the discussion of the draft because,as they said, the minister had failed to talk to the churches , several flaws had been discovered and some thought that the actual defence of the country was much more important than the issue of education. Many representatives wanted to see a new draft from the minister.As a response to the afore-mentioned reservations Eötvös stated that the given situation was such that it had secured political rights to the people through the revolution ,however any reasonable exercise of the rights involved individual abilities and faculties which could not be brought about in the people unless education became widespread. Obtaining political rights was of no practical value if the great majority of the people were under constant political influence of a few others just because of ignorance and uneducatedness. He pointed out that it was school education that could make the lower classes be able to exercise the newly gained rights.

After this the draft was open for discussion.

A big debate ensued about the question of private institutions and private teachers: many representatives wanted to exclude the former Jesuists and some also the "communists". Again others wanted to drop the age of compulsory elementary education from 12 to 10 saying that the Sunday school over that age will do for the purpose of education.The minister argued against it by saying that the effect of a four-year education soon disappeares and even the six-year-long compulsory education has to be combined with some further education.

Some wanted the state to be fully responsible for running these elementary schools thus relieving the communities from school-taxes and maintainance expenses.The finance minister Lajos Kossuth proved with figures that the state could by no means bear such burdens all by itself , as it could not even afford to pay the teachers for one thing.In his opinion, the good organization of the settlement-system meant a guarantee for a high-level public education.Again, some representatives wanted to retain religion among the ordinary subjects, others wanted to have ethics and gardening-farming intrroduced as new subjects.In spite of the several proposals the compulsory subjects accepted remained the ones originally put forward: writing and reading, arithmetics in the head and in numbers, nature studies and nature description together with practical studies based on them with special respect for the way of living and the surrounding region, home history, geography, civil rights and obligations, physical education with special respect to military training,singing.

According to the minister's draft the language of the education should be specified on the basis of the majority of the population in question and where the language of education normally would be other than Hungarian , Hungarian should also be taught.One of the most obvious points of debate was the language of education.In the course of the debate eleven proposals for amendment were put forward.Many representatives criticized the draft for not providing for the promotion and expansion of the Hungarian language as in their views the most suitable language of education in elementary schools would be Hungarian to help achieve national unity out of this many-nationality country.There were some,however, who did not think forcing Hungarian as the language of education was a good idea for, as they argued, language was the basic means for obtaining knowledge about the world for children and it was the mother-tongue in which it could most successfully be realized.

There were others who considered it to be a harmful political blunder to prescribe Hungarian as the official language of education as this measure would make the nationalities angry who can only be governed on the principles of rightousness and impartiality.The Parliament,finally, voted for Hungarian as being the official language of education in spite of the minister's proposal to secure tolerance and equal rights linguisticwise.

A most heated debate ensued on the issue of church vs. community mixed schools among the representatives of radical, moderate and conservative convictions.The coverage of the press was also most obvious on this issue.The minister was criticized from the one wing for having put forward his proposal without discussing the issue with the churches,while the paper of the "March Youth" accused him of having compiled the text of the draft in colaboration with the archbishop.He was also reminded of his former views as a politician in opposition according to which the state was a worldy institution with a bourgeois government and now was criticized for putting forward a "Jesuist proposal" as minister.In the end the minister ordered voting on the matter whether each church could and should have its schools run by the state.Two thirds of the MPs voted against and thus the Parliament claimed that any school run by the state or a community could only be a mixed public school.Even after being outvoted, the government tried their best to keep to an educational system that would be tolerant toward the demands of the churches.Therefore, on the next day the highly-respected president of the Parliament made a motion,as an MP, concerning the possibility for the churches to maintain elementary schools. By doing so he had the question of community mixed vs. church schools rediscussed contrary to parliamentary customs.Two other ministers seconded the motion which was followed by a vehement attack from the left.As the result of the voting by names it was accepted by a majority of two thirds that each denomination was permitted to erect and maintain their own church elementary schools from self-resources and with the consent of the majority of the members of the communion. In that case the parents could remain in possession of the school foundations but were not exempt from school taxes.

According to the draft religious education was to be received directly from the appropriate clergy publicly and freely. Supervision of the schools was to be done by committees elected within the communities. It was also these committees to nominate the teachers under higher supervision of the regional committees and the minister. Some people wanted more power for the ministry in such affairs but the minister pointed out that a village or a town was much more up to judging who they had confidence with among the possible candidates than the central government .

Further, the representatives in the Parliament granted the motion concerning the establishment of institutions of training elementary school teachers and regional committees responsible for general education.

After the general and detailed discussion of the draft in the House of Commons and its acceptance there , one of the representatives asked the minister to withdraw his proposal as too many objections had been raised against it. Eötvös pointed out that he was not in the position of doing it after the discussion and the acceptance; the House of Commons could only vote - and only after a day's break - about the draft's being accepted or rejected. He also claimed that no perfect bill of education can be construed and passed only a temporary one. On August 12th, 1848 the House of Commons finally accepted the draft of general education and sent it up to the House of Lords.

In the House of Commons during the several days' long discussion of the draft there were over 200 contributions and many representatives took the floor more than once. From among the ministers Kossuth, Széchenyi, Deák, Klauzál got involved at some point in the debate. Eötvös himself took the floor 16 times making his standpoint clear with every delicate question.

The draft reached the House of Lords on August 14th,1848 and was given out for committee discussion.The committee in question, which consisted of aristocrats,high-standing landlords and the high clergy, found the draft detrimental - in accordance with the clericalist majority of the House of Commons - to the Catholic Church , even in spite of the great number of concessions made by the government.In the revolutionary atmosphere,however, it was not expressed overtly and the committee claimed instead ,finding the appropriate excuse of the time, that in the difficult times the country had to face any issue with the slightest possibility to give rise to conflicts and hinder understanding should be kept away.They voiced their views that all the forces of the nation needed to be united under the more and more alarming circumstances in order to restore quiet and peace and therefore they could not consider it appropriate to make any decision,even if only in principle, concerning the very important question of general education. They also expressed their hope that the diverse opinions would get closer if the different churches were also listened to. On the basis of all these considerations the committee proposed to the House of Lords to postpone the discussion of the draft until the next session of the Parliament.

The draft together with the recommendation of the committee got before the assembly of the House of Lords on August 25th for discussion.The minister once more listed his arguments for his proposal.He pointed out that legal equality can only be based on equal chances is education; that the very little payment of teachers had drastically dropped,often abolished completely and therefore the legal introduction of school taxation of 5 per cent was urgent; that the draft could by no means hurt anybody's religious conscience and feelings since it allowed for due opportunity for the erection and maintainance of independent church schools;that the church foundations for schooling remained intact;that legal supervision of schools prescribed in the bill only concerned the finances not the principles of education to be practised; that the minister's desire to receive information from the churches concerned also only the ways schools were to be financed while being necessary for him to get acquianted with the current priciples of education laid down in the law to enable him to work out a detailed draft for a better general education.

The lords in the Upper House tried to treat the sensitivity of the minister, also of the magnate, with care,but even so the issue of the legal settlement of the elementary schools was put off until the next session of the parliament on the proposal of the prepatarory committee.It was claimed that the most urgent task of the assembly at the moment was to take action and measures to protect the country from surrounding dangers.In the end the government gave in and agreed in order not to give a pretext for the religious masses to rebel against the revolution.

This was how the forcing of the bill of compulsory elementary education in Hungary took another 20 years before it was passed in 1868.

József Eötvös's 1848 draft concerning general education was of outstanding importance : it claimed the competence of the state in school matters, compulsory education, free schooling and it was to make a close connexion between the communities and their schools.On the curriculum there were modern and practical subjects,religion was excluded from among the compulsory subjects.It established institutes of teacher training for elementary schools and made it necessary for the appointment of any elementary school teacher to have a degree from one of these elementary teacher training schools. Despite its sympathy with the minorities through allowing for the language of education being the language of the majority in a given community, quite a lot of children would have been taught in non-native languages. One should consider as a fault of the proposal the lack of subjects as agriculture, biological and health studies, handy skills which many people demanded already and were taught in some school.

The fate of the debate about the introduction of compulsory general education clearly shows how weak the proponents of the coming bourgeois changes were in Hungary in 1848 and how strong an influence the protectors of conservative, clerical, feudal interests had even on the representatives of the people in the House of Commons.

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## RESUME

Après plusieurs tentatives sans résultats, pendant la révolution de 1848, en conformité des aspirations des enseignant progressifs, le chef du Ministère de l'Education et de la Religion a déposé - à l'espoire du succès - le projet de loi sur l'enseignement populaire obligatoire au Parlement.
Le ministre József Eötvös a constaté dans son exposé: prendre soin de l'enseignement populaire, c'est le devoir de l'état.

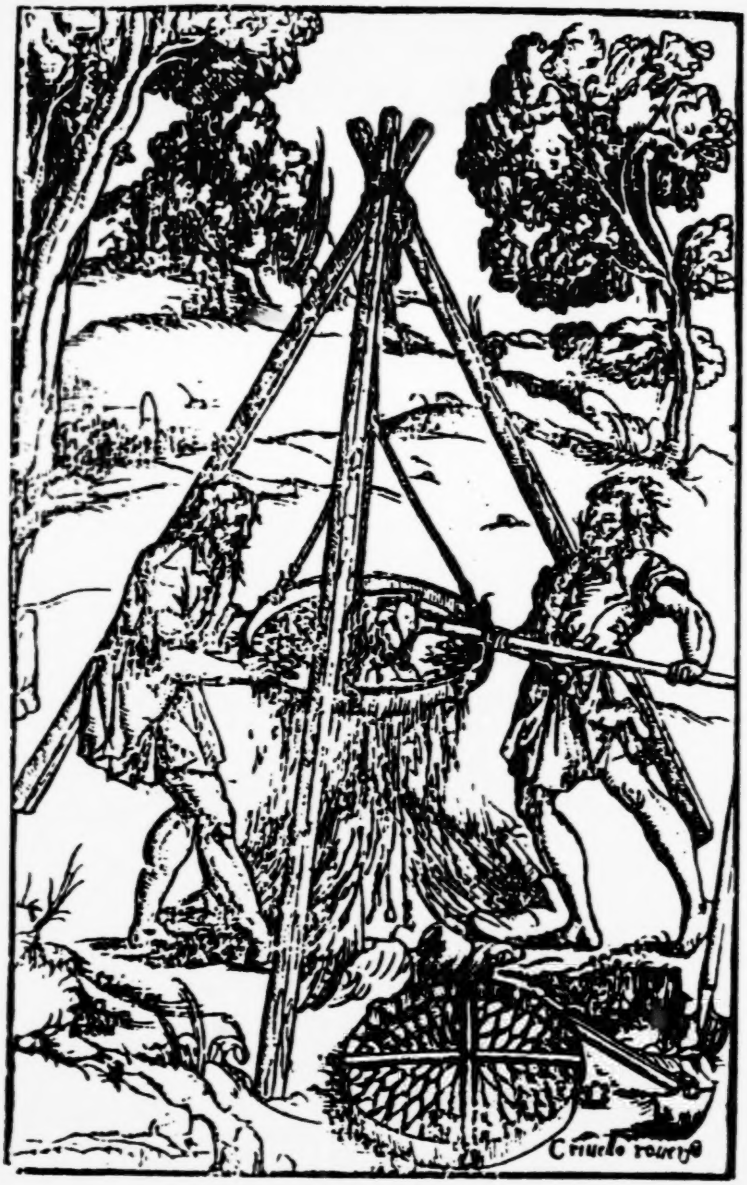
tournement du péril manaçant la patrie est le plus important. Ainsi l'insertion de la loi sur l'enseignement populaire obligatoire a subi un retard de 2o ans, et ne s'est réalisée qu'en 1868.

Par conséquent il a le droit d'obliger les parents à donner de l'instruction à leurs enfants, de prélever un impôt général d'enseignement de 5 % dans l'intérêt de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire, et d'exercer la surveillance sur les institutions. Il garantit l'enseignement en langue maternelle selon la majorité de la population; l'enseignement religieux ne figure pas parmi les matières, c'est fait par le prêtre de l'Eglise en question.

Le ministre a été critiqué dans la Chambre par les conservatifs parce qu'il n'avait pas poursuit des négociations avec les Eglises; par les gauches, parce qu'ils auraient préféré le vote de la loi de recrutement à l'intérêt de la défense de la révolution en danger.

Dans la discussion les conservatifs n'étaient d'accord avec l'obligation scolaire que jusqu'à l'âge de lo ans, ils voulaient affranchir la population des impôts d'enseignement, ils forçaient la langue hongroise comme langue d'enseignement, ils donnaient la possibilité aux Églises différentes de créer des écoles primaires religieuses de leurs propres moyens. La Chambre a accepté le projet avec des changements importants.

Le projet de loi a été présenté devant la Chambre Haute, dont les membres étaient des aristocrates, des propriétaires et des grand-prêtres. Celle-ci a ajourné l'entretien sur la loi sur l'enseignement populaire obligatoire, sous prétexte que le dé-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# COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE TWENTY YEARS AFTER ITALIAN UNIFICATION (1860-1880)

Enzo Catarsi

In the first half of the eighteenth century a definite trend was developing towards schooling in Western Europe, spurred on by the beginnings of industrial development and by deep-rooted cultural and religious factors. This was not true, however, in all of the pre-unified Italian states, where the ruling classes, particularly in the South, were generally hostile to education and cultural growth of the masses and where economic conditions hardly required them to be of any higher general standard. This fact greatly affected the debate surrounding compulsory education and any solution to it was rendered even more difficult since the controversial question of religious education was closely linked in with it - a matter which has always provoked and continues to provoke deep divisions in italian culture and politics. In addition, an attitude of indifference to state education continued to prevail in italian governments even after the Unification of Italy in 1861 when the horrifying extent of illiteracy became known.

The population survey carried out in 1861, despite the inaccuracies of a less than scientific methodology, states that 78% of Italians of every age group were illiterate with alarming statistics in the southern regions where illiteracy reached extremely high proportions. Despite a falling tendency, these figures were to remain unchanged in the first decade of unification as is clearly seen from the table below.

Illiterates per 100 adults (men and women) in the surveys of 1861 and 1871.

| Regions | 1861 | 1871 | Regions | 1861 | 1871 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Piedmonte | 57 | 50 | The Abruzzi and Molise | 90 | 87 |
| Liguria | 71 | 62 | Campania | 85 | 82 |
| Lombardy | 60 | 53 | Puglie | 89 | 86 |
| Veneto | - | 70 | Basilicata | 91 | 90 |
| Emilia | 80 | 75 | Calabria | 90 | 89 |
| Tuscany | 78 | 72 | Sicily | 90 | 87 |
| Marche | 85 | 82 | Sardinia | 91 | 88 |
| Umbria | 86 | 83 | Regno | 78 | 73 |

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, "Annuario statistico italiano 1881", Printed by Eredi Botta, Roma, 1881, pp. 268-269.

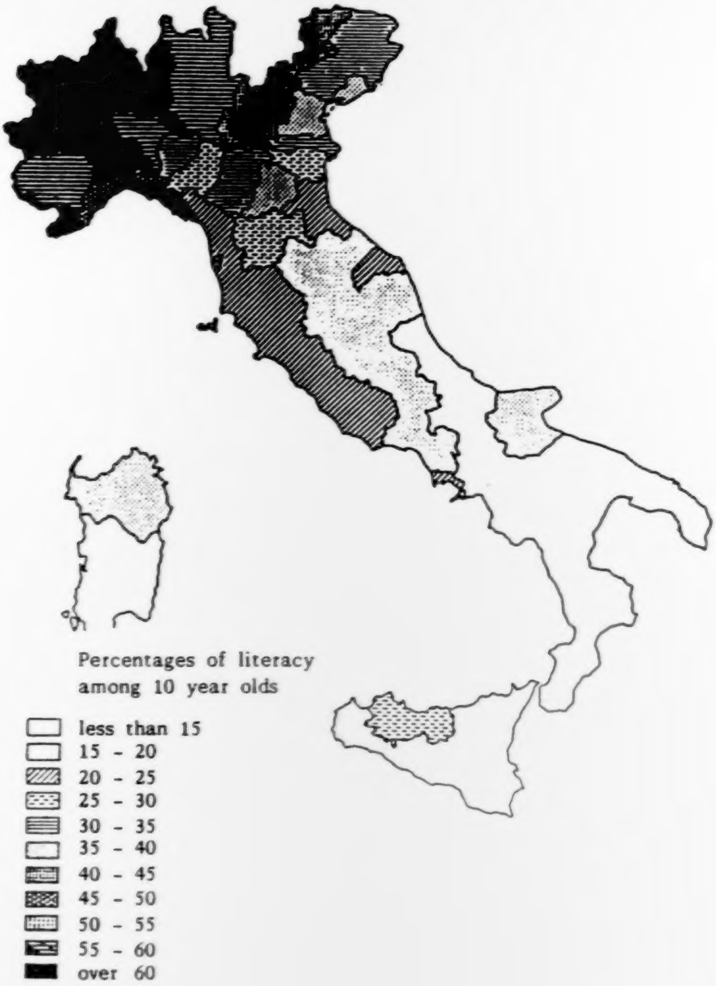
The hostility, or at least the indifference to education was not inique only to the Convervatives, at that time, but was also shared by the majority of the masses and found its roots in the harsh economic climate of that period. At the time of the Unification, Italy was very much an agriculture-based nation, with little industrial and commercial activity greatly burdened by the heavy debts incurred by the governments of the pre-unified states; living conditions were extremely precarious with minimal levels of substenance for peasants whose standard of life was certainly the lowest in Europe. Generally speaking the masses were compelled to live in a sate of real degredation, eating - as a doctor of the time remarked - badly and not sufficiently ... even on things which could be the direct cause of disease". Such working class conditions had always posed excessive and intolerable difficulties so, as at the origin of many infectious diseases, were the damp, dark, poorly ventilated and almost always overcrowded homes (1)

In this context, the Casati Law, passed in 1859, wich set up the system of national education and introduced compulsory education in the first of the two 2-year stages into which elementary schools were divided into, was of little significance. All the more so was the fact that the responsibility for compulsory education was entrusted to local councils which due to limited suffrage, were controlled by groups of notables generally opposed to education. These were, furthermore, never able to fully carry out the important duties placed in their hands because of the lack of finance available. But, the legislator recognised and clarified the situation, by declaring that the councils were to perform their duties, since Article 317 of the Casati Law - a law which seemed made to be broken - explicitly stated that the councils must see to the spread of elementary education "according to their power and according to the needs of the population". Furthermore, it must also be pointed out that the parents of those children who did not attend schools would not have been punished in any way, because although the law did state that the latter, "will be punished in accordance with the penal laws of the state", these failed to anticipate a sentence for the offenders of compulsory education (2).

It is surprising, therefore, that the percentages of truancy were particularly high as the first official survey on public education in Italy in 1864 showed. With regard to the attendance of pupils in elementary school, thus, the unanimous response of those interviewed agreed with the Inspector of the City of Turin, who claimed that "attendance at school was constant in populated areas where there was no, or few agricultural workers ... but in most rural areas, half or as many as two-thirds of pupils failed to attend school in the months of April and May" (3). It was at this time of the year that farm work was at its most intense and peasant families, including even the youngest members, were forced to participate (4). In some places, school hours were adapted to allow for this, as in the province of Arezzo, where lessons were held very early in the morning in the schools of rural communities so as to leave the children free from 8.00am. to work in the fields.

So, at the end of 1871, varying levels of literacy continued to prevail in the different parts of Italy as can be seen immediately from the map which

**Levels of Literacy in 1871**



shows data for children of 10 years of age. Statistics ranging from 40 - 50% can be noted in the North, while in Central Italy, percentages vary from 15 to 35% and 6 to 18% in the South. Further notable variation exist within these three zones: in the northern regions of Italy like Lombardy and Piedmont, (a rate of 27.2% illiteracy was recorded for 10 year olds in their capital cities) and other regions like Veneto where percentages of literacy were very low. In Central Italy the lowest level of literacy was found in the city of Chieti (12.71%) while in Tuscany, the most advanced region of Central Italy, figures ranged from 20 - 30%. Finally, in Southern Italy, the levels of il literacy were really diabolical, for example in Caltinasetta 94% of 10 year olds were unable to read and write. The situation was slightly different in larger cities like Naples and Palermo, but the general picture as quite distressing and sufficient to cause great concern to those liberal politicians who sincerely valued the progress of Italy (5).

The most discerning of these began to notice and to declare openly that the scourge of illiteracy was linked to the "social question" and it could only be resolved by full-scale improvement of the living conditions of the masses. Pasquale Villari was symbolic of this feeling and in a famous paper of 1872 he rhetorically asked, "What does a man who lacks fresh air and daylight, who lives in damp and stench, and who has to put his wife and daughters to the streets all day, want with reading and writing?" (6). At the same time, people began to work out with more insistence how compulsory education could be made more effective. This aroused a controversy in the world of productive industry, where the sectors of light industry, whose machinery was generally old and antiquated, opposed education and did not appreciate the importance to be gained by the more advanced contractors of the developing heavy industries who were in turn more attentive to the standards of education of their workforce because they were more interested in the technological advances of their factories.

The growing involvement in the debate for compulsory education gathered momentum in this way and the first substantial legislative proposals were presented to Parliament towards the end of the first decade of unification. Thus, in December 1869, Minister Cesare Correnti, several days after his appointment to the Ministry of Public Education put forward his initiative which set up a commission into the state of compulsory education, headed by Angelo Bargoni and which also included other notable figures like Pasquale Villari, Angelo Fava and Aristide Gabelli. This group completed its survey in October 1870 and issued a bill based on the deep-rooted attitudes in the controversy of previous years which confirmed free elementary education and the obligation of parents to send their children to school, penalties if they failed to do so and payment of a specified fine. Parents of children who played truant at school, furthermore would lose the vote for a year, while the obligation of checking on a child's attendance was to be extended to all those who had children between the ages of 6 and 12 dependant on them (7).

The Bill resulting form the Bargoni Commission, however, never became law although its significant results were never forgotten for they were taken up by

Minister Correnti himself in a paper on compulsory education which he presented to Parliament on 17 April 1872. Here again fines for offending parents were to be re-inforced as well as a law introducing the provision of education in factories where more than forty young children were employed. Also, military service was to be extended for those who could not read nor write. But these proposals again were never put into effect because of the resignation of Minister Correnti on 17th May 1872. Nevertheless, parliamentary debate for compulsory education raged on so the following year Minister Antonio Scialoja put forword his attempt at legislation which differed from the previous effort because it was not only concerned with compulsory education but also aimed at a general reorganisation of elementary education. The commission set up to report to the House had as its spokesman ex-Minister Correnti who outlined the gap in the newest proposal in that it left the responsibility for compulsory education to the families and it greatly reduced the power of elective bodies to the advantage of ministerial powers. When this bill was put to the vote, it too was defeated (8).

The parliamentary confrontation at this point took on even harsher tones than in the argument of compulsory education developing between the Lay and the Catholic Church at that time, which protested on a similar general theme and particularly on the role of religious education, supported by every kind of argument the Church Hierarchy could think of. The authoratative magazine "Civiltà Cattolica" (Catholic Society) was particularly vehement in opposing any legislation on compulsory education, which it defined as "extremely unfair and harmful to the people who sanction it". With this latest attempt at legislation, infact, the State - according to the jesuit magazine - assumed the power to educate children which it was entitled to do and which should be left to the parents", to whom the exclusive right to educate belonged (9).

Liberal debate, however, followed a direction diametrically opposite to this, firmly rooted in the conviction that the State had the right - or a duty - to educate the younger generations. Giuseppe Guerzoni affirms this in the magazine "New Anthology": the concept of compulsory schooling "was sacred, legitimate and just" and there was no need to lose more time on further discussion on obligation against which no convincing arguments had been put forward. Guerzoni went on to suggest also that in order to make compulsory education effective, the economic causes which stood in its way had to be removed, thus allowing all children to attend school (10). Similarly, Aristide Gabelli, who later did not appear as one of the most advanced positivist pedagogist (11) - insisted that the State should force parents to concern themselves with their children's education, since "society has the right to protect the child when the father is shown to neglect his less important duties "and controversially warns that he "who does not clearly and resolutely say to the people: you have a duty to go to school, really means: you can do what you like" (12).

While all this was happening, the very harsh living conditions of the masses and the discontent in Soutnern Italy, caused by precedente given by the Public Purse to the North, paved the way for a change in the political situation. In 1876, in fact, government passed from the Right, more intune with the larger landowners of the South and with the more conservative industries, to the Left, which represented the more dynamic social classes and in particular, the young bourgeois classes, anxious to use politics to get vendication for the taxation put on their products. The new government was, almost immediately, more attentive to the fate of elementary education - at least in general policy statements - concerning itself specifically with teachers' conditions and schools, as well as attempting to positively resolve the question of compulsory education in the shortest time possible. To achieve this Michele Coppino (13) who was destined for the Ministry of Public Education, presented a Bill (14) in December 1876 which left intact the principle of free education already laid down in the Casati Law and made compulsory education law until nine years of age. After much controversial parliamentary debate, largely entangled, amongst other things, in the thorny problem of religious education, a bill enforcing compulsory education was approved in July 1877 which is commonly called the Coppino Law after the man who brought it into being. This, as proposed, enforced obligatory attendance at school for everyone up to the age of 9 years of age and in this time the first elementary stage, extended by one year, was to be completed. Furthermore, it imposed financial sanctions on the parents of transgressors, as well as disallowing them from carrying fire arms. The change was, however, less than significant in that compulsory schooling was fixed as a 3 year course which was barely enough to allow a rudimentary understanding of reading and writing.

The Coppino Law presented no real solution to the problem since it left many question still unanswered. Yet it was of great political importance because it institutionalised compulsory schooling more forcefully and therefore gave a next stamp to future debates on school organisation. Of interest also, is the controversy aroused by it which revealed widespread conviction that it could have little effect on the complex state of education and that it would find insurmountagle problems particolarly in rural areas (15). Similar anxiety became apparent, at the same time, over the effective enforcement of compulsory education and the system of fines, since, as it is noted, "one can be sure that it will be carried out with more than pious lenience. Mayors and local councils did not want neither animosity nor such trivialities bothering them" (16).

The inconsistent application of the law, in fact, negatively influenced the process of literacy, therefore, it is easy to show how the Coppino Law failed to fully exercise its innovative potential. Also attributable was the deliberate negligence and often indolence of local council administration which were afraid of losing popularity by denouncing and prosecuting the offenders. Stefano Pivato, making a remark on the region of the Romagna but which was valid for the rest of the nation, said that the full enforcement of the law on compulsory education would place council administration under the risk of losing the popularity of a section of society in wich child labour, as well as being advantageous to agriculture, was indispensable to the economy of peasant families" (17). The question of attendance at school was of a social nature, as Gerolamo Buonazia seems to appreciate, who in the piece quoted below showed that the conditions in school were insufficient to explait the phenomenon of illiteracy and one had also to include the general condition of the masses because, as he clearly explains "schools are largely the mirror of the social condition of the population" (18). Such awareness, generally among Leftists, was not enough to achieve the desired results, since - despite the worthy speeches full of fine principles and good intentions - statistics showed that schooling rose more in the first twenty years after unification than in the next when we think the contrary to be true. In the first 20 years after unification, the numbers of children between the ages of 6 and 12 attending school had risen from 37% to 58%, while a rise of only 6% was recorded from 1881 to 1901 (58% - 64%) (19). The difficult economic condition in Italy, which worsened following the crisis of the late 1880's, and the progressive deterioration in favour of the conservatives, which characterised leftist governments from 1882 onwards, can explain the negative results, all of which are to be incorporated into the complete picture of the authoritarian regression of the turn of the century. In these circumstances, in effect, we cannot fail to be reminded how the enforcement of the Coppino Law developed during those years in which faith in education and its unifying potential, dwindled on the one hand while on the other, the fear that the masses, once educated, would be much less docile and less obsequious to the law, grew. It is therefore, obvious that the effectrs of the law could never have been outstanding, although, in conclusion, its value cannot be omitted as it enforced the right - or the duty - of the State - which was to be critised and distorted in future decades - to educate its citiziens regardless of religion and respecting the most varied cultural attitudes (20).

## NOTES

1. cfr. P.Sorcinelli, "Miseria e malattie nel XIX secolo. I ceti popolari nell'Italia centrale tra tifo petecchiale e pellagra", (Misery and Disease in 19th Century - The Lower Classes in Central Italy from Typhus Petecchiale and Pellagra), Angeli, Milan, 1979, pp.31-32.

2. The complete text of the Casati Law is contained in the appendix of "Storia della politica scolastica in Italia da Casati a Gentile (Story of Educational Politics in Italy from Casati to Gentile) by G. Inzerillo, printed by Editori Riuniti, Roma, 1974. For criticism of the above see D. Bertoni Jovine's essay, "La legge Casati nella critica contemporanea", (The Casati Law and Contemporary Criticism) in "I Problemi della Pedagogia" (Problems in Pedagogy), 1, 1959 and also in the collection by Bertoni Jovine, "Storia della didattica dalla legge Casati ad oggi" (The Story of Teaching from the Casati Law to the Present", Vol.1, edited by Angelo Semeraro, Editori Riuniti, Rome 1976, pp. 127-172.

3. "Sulle condizioni della Pubblica Istruzione nel Regno d'Italia" (The Condition of State Schooling in The Kingdom of Italy), a report presented to the Consiglio Superiore of Turin, Stamperia Reale, Milan, 1865, pp. 471 and

418. On the same theme, see also "La Scuola della legge Casati alla inchiesta del 1864" (The School from the Casati Law to the 1864 Inquiry) by G. Talamo, Giuffré, Milan, 1960.

4. For more information on working conditions and more generally on the life of children at that time, see also E. Catarsi's "Nineteenth Century Italian Childhood", in AA.VV., Conference Papers for the Ist. Meeting of the International Standing Group fot the History of Early Childood", edited by Luis Erler and Gunter Erning, Bamberg, 1984.

5. Statistics and the map are taken from the contribution of R. Graglia and G. Ricuperati, "Analfabetismo e scolarizzazione. L'Istruzione primaria" (Illiteracy and Schooling - Elementary Education) in "Storia dell'Italia. Atlante". (The History of Italy), vol.6, Einaudi, Turin, 1976, pp.773-774.

6. P. Villari, "La Scuola e la questione sociale in Italia" (The School and the Social Question in Italy) in the magazine "Nuova Antologia", Nov. 1, 1872, and also in "Le Lettere meridionali ed altri scritti sulla questione sociale in Italia" (Letters of the South and other articles on the Social Question in Italy), edited by Luca Chiti, Loescher, Turin, 1972, p.229.

7. For more information of the Bargoni Commission, see Arcomano, A., "Istruzione e ministri, scuole e maestri nel I decennio unitario" (Education and Ministers, Schools and Teachers in the First Decade after Unification), Fratelli Conte, Naples, 1983, pp. 300 - 313.

8. Regarding these parliamentary debates, G. Talamo "Istruzione obbligatoria e estensione del suffragio" (Compulsory Education and the Estension of the Vote), in AA.VV.'s volume "Stato e società dal 1876 to 1882" (State and Society from 1876 to 1882), Acts of the 49th Congress of the Story of the Italian Risorgimento, Institute of the History of the Italian Risorgimento, Rome, 1980, pp. 75 - 78.

9. Cfr. "Dell'istruzione primaria obbligatoria" (About Compulsory Elementary Education), in "Civiltà Cattolica", series VIII, Vol. VIII, 1872, pp. 75 - 78.

10. See G. Guerzoni, "L'Istruzione obbligatoria in Italia" (Compulsory Education in Italy), in "Nuova Antologia", March 1870, pp. 459 - 504.

11. See R. Tisato, "Studi sul positivismo pedagogico in Italia", (Studies on Pedagogical Positivism in Italy), RADAR, Padua, 1967, pp. 59 - 60.

12. A.Gabelli, "L'istruzione obbligatoria in Italia" (Compulsory Education in Italy) in "Nuova Antologia", May 1870 and also in a collection by Gabelli "Istruzione e educazione in Italia", (Instruction and Education in Italy), edited by Ernesto Codignola, La Nuova Italia, Florence, 1971, pp. 64 and 72. For further documentation on the continued controversy of this period between the State and the Church see S. Soldani's, "The Conflict between the Church and State in Italy on primary education in the period following unification (1869-1877), in the AA.VV. volume, "L'offre d'ecole. Elements pour une etude comparée des politiques educatives au XIX siecle", edited

by Willem Frijhoff, and published by Sorbonne/Institut National de Recerche Pedagogique, Paris, 1983, pp. 96-110.

13. For a general summary of Michele Coppino, the man, see the relevant section of Giuseppe Talamo's "Biographical Dictionary of Italians", Vol.28, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome, 1983, pp.625-631.

14. The text of this bill is described in AA. Mola's collection 'Michele Coppino, 1822-1901. Scritti e discorsi", (Michele Coppino, Letters and Debates), Famija Albeisa, 1978, pp. 302-304).

15. Cfr. G. Fanti, "L'istruzione obbligatoria e le scuole foresi" (Compulsory Education and the Foresi Schools), in "Archivio di Pedagogia" (Pedagogical Archive), Vol. II, 1877, pp.174-193.

16. "L'istruzione elementare nelle campagne" (Elementary education in the Rural Areas), in "La Rassegna Settimanale", 15 December 1978, p.402.

17. S. Pivato, "Pane e grammatica. L'istruzione elementare in Romagna alla fine dell'800" (Bread and Grammar. Compulsory Education in the Romagna at the end of the Nineteenth Century), Angeli, Milan, 1983, pp.53-54).

18. Ministry of Education, "Sull'obbligo dell'istruzione elementare del Regno d'Italia. Attuazione della legge 14 luglio 1877 (Compulsory Education in the Kingdom of Italy and the Enforcement of the 14 July Law), Roma, 1877.

19. See C.G. Lacaita, "Istruzione e sviluppo industriale in Italia 1959-1914" (Education and the Development of Industry in Italy 1859 to 1914), Giunti, Florence, 1963, p.34. The few results achieved by the Coppino Law are documented, pertaining to the years 1886-1889, in the Ministry of Education's publication, "Relazioni a S.E. il Prof. Comm. Pasquali Villari Senatore del Regno Ministro per la Pubblica Istruzione sull'obbligo dell'Istruzione elementare" (Reports to Professor Pasquali Villari, Minister of Public Education for Compulsory Elementary Education), Rome, 1881.

20. For a more detailed description of the problem indicated here see, E. Catarsi's "L'Educazione del popolo. Momenti e Figure dell'istruzione popolare nell'Italia liberale" (The Education of the People. Events and People of Pupular Education in Liberal Italy), Juvenilia, Bergamo, 1985.

# SUMMARY

The question of compulsory education first came to the fore in Italy soon after National Unification in 1861 and it immediately became the centre of libely controversy, mostly because it was linked during several parliamentary debates, to the problem of religious education, which has always been the cause of division in italian culture and politics. Resolution of this problem soon proved itself to be difficult because of the general living conditions of the masses, among which the level of illiteracy stood at 78%. Therefore life of children of the lower classes was rough: they were forced to do strenous work, very often detrimental totheir health which stopped them from attending any kind of school.

The results of the first enquiry (1864) into the state schooling showed that the high levels of illiteracy were intolerable and called for immediate intervention by the State. Various bills attempting to establish compulsory education were presented to Parliament, but were defeated for different reasons, mostly because of the conflict which had started between the Catholic Church and lay people, which held diametrically opposite points of view.

The problem however was partly resolved, altough inadequately, in 1876 when the Sinistra Storica (The Historic Left) came to power. They were closer to the interests of the progressive bourgeiousie and the more illuminated industrial sectors. The following years and set down a three-year elementary course. Obviously the result of fifteen years parliamentary debate was of little significance, as the Coppino Law had a poor effect on education. However, looking back on the past, the Bill did certify the right - or the duty of the state to intervene in schooling and in the education of the younger generations, although this was to be contested later by the Church.

# CHIESA E OBBLIGO SCOLASTICO NELL'ITALIA POST-UNITARIA (1860-1900)

## Carmela Covato

L'800 rappresenta il secolo del lento passaggio dell'istruzione scolastica dal monopolio della Chiesa alla gestione statale. Una vicenda già vissuta dalla Chiesa nel secolo precedente, negli anni delle riforme attuate nei paesi protagonisti del cosiddetto dispotismo illuminato, ed esauritasi poi nel periodo della restaurazione.

Nell'Italia post-unitaria, questo processo é caratterizzato da implicazioni culturali e politiche particolarmente complesse e significative.

L'istruzione pubblica, infatti, si configura come il luogo di una acuta contrapposizione fra Stato e Chiesa, che trascende i confini della scuola e dei problemi legati al suo monopolio poiché rappresenta uno degli aspetti più emblematici della lotta per l'egemonia, nel campo della società civile, fra vecchie e nuove classi dirigenti.

Se la storiografia tradizionale non é stata sempre sufficientemente attenta ai nessi esistenti fra storia dell'istruzione e storia politica e sociale, in anni più recenti, é stata significativamente messa in evidenza l'importanza della storia della scuola e delle istituzioni formative come punto di vista particolarmente fecondo per l'approfondimento del rapporto fra Stato e società civile.

Va analizzato, dunque, secondo questa ampia visuale anche il problema dell'atteggiamento della Chiesa nei confronti dell'istruzione popolare e dell'introduzione dell'obbligo scolastico nell'Italia post-unitaria.

E' indubbio che il controllo dell'istruzione ha rappresentato, in quel momento storico, una posta in gioco importante per la nuova classe dirigente nazionale in vista del suo consolidamento politico che non poteva prescindere da una progressiva laicizzazione dello Stato.

Dal punto di vista storiografico, sarebbe però errato sviluppare l'analisi sulla base di una contrapposizione che veda da una parte lo Stato laico sinceramente interessato al problema dell'istruzione popolare e dall'altra la Chiesa costantemente ostile all'avanzamento culturale delle masse.

Si impone, a questo proposito, una considerazione preliminare legata all'assenza, nello sviluppo dell'unità dello Stato italiano, di quel soggetto, definito da A. Gramsci "popolo-nazione", che, nei fatti, non divenne mai protagonista della sua emancipazione politica, sociale e culturale.

Se si analizza la storia dell'istruzione obbligatoria dal punto di vista della unificazione culturale della realtà nazionale e dell'emancipazione sociale delle masse e delle classi subalterne, é indispensabile porre nel giusto rilievo una condizione storica di distacco fra ceti dirigenti e intellettuali da una parte e ceti popolari dall'altra.

Con modalità e contenuti diversi, tuttavia, questa frattura caratterizza inequivocabilmente laici e cattolici.

La mancata connessione fra unificazione politica e unificazione culturale e sociale é un problema che non riguarda soltanto la ricerca storica ma che é ancora oggi di grande attualità dal punto di vista pedagogico e politico.

Se si intende lo Stato come 'educatore', in quanto ha fra i suoi obiettivi un nuovo tipo di organizzazione della cultura e dell'insieme dei rapporti sociali, si deve constatare che anche la classe dirigente liberale é venuta meno al suo compito di promuovere una nuova intellettualità, una 'moderna' concezione del mondo che implicasse una trasformazione della coscienza popolare, uscendo dai confini di un sapere e di una cultura spiccatamente elitari.(I)

Senza addentrarsi nell'analisi della mancata diffusione collettiva di nuove forme di pensiero e di cultura, basterà ricordare che, nella seconda metà dell'ottocento, l'analfabetismo diminuisce con impressionante lentezza e che fino al I90I quasi metà della popolazione (il 48,5%) é del tutto illetterata, un dato la cui lettura diventa ancora più grave se si pensa che veniva considerato alfabetizzato anche colui che sapeva semplicemente apporre la propria firma. (2)

In questo contesto, dunque, si pone il problema del rapporto fra Chiesa e Stato, che rappresenta un punto di vista imprescindibile da cui analizzare lo sviluppo storico delle istituzioni scolastiche nell'Italia post-unitaria e il dibattito ad esso correlato.

Com'é noto, la legge Casati (I859) é il primo e più importante intervento legislativo esplicitamente finalizzato a dare una organizzazione nazionale all'intero sistema scolastico.

L'obbligo scolastico, sanzionato poi dalla legge Coppino (I877), che continuerà tuttavia a restare sostanzialmente inoperante per la mancanza di strutture e di risorse finanziarie adeguate, viene introdotto sulla base di norme dalla formulazione ancora incerta e che di fatto non ne consentirono l'attuazione. L'obbligo riguardava le prime due classi della scuola elementare. Ma é proprio l'avvio di questo processo che vede l'mergere di un atteggiamento ostile da parte della Chiesa, che contrasta il principio dell'esclusivo affidamento allo Stato dell'istruzione obbligatoria.

Tuttavia la legge Casati si muove ancora in una logica di mediazione fra le aspirazioni laiche di segno liberale e le esigenze della Chiesa cattolica, cui vennero fatte significative concessioni che riguardano da una parte la sopravvivenza delle scuole private dall'altra l'obbligatorietà dell'insegnamento della religione cattolica nelle scuole primarie, mentre nelle scuole secondarie era prevista la presenza di un Direttore spirituale e nell'Università era fatto divieto ai docenti di sostenere posizioni contrarie ai principi su cui si basa l'ordine morale e religioso.

La misure adottate successivamente, a partire dagli anni '70, proiettate in modo più determinato verso una laicizzazione di tipo radical-liberale, tenderanno a ridimensionare i privilegi concessi dalla Casati al clero nel campo dell'istruzione, provocando un ulteriore esasperazione dei rapporti fra Stato e Chiesa. L'alfabetizzazione nelle scuole pubbliche e l'obbligo scolastico diventano così per la Chiesa una minaccia ideologica e un pericolo da cui difendere il popolo.

Leggiamo su Civiltà cattolica (1872): "Al buon costume é mezzo necessario l'istruzione morale e religiosa; e strumento di questa é la parola del padre e del curato....L'insegnamento dunque religioso e morale, ordinato a pascere l'intelletto e la volontà del fanciullo, é il vero pane a cui egli ha diritto.

Or di questo non si cura il Governo; e pensa all'alfabeto, il quale invece di pane potrebbe anche porger veleno...."(3)

## Pio IX e la libertà di insegnamento: "Un principio che non ammetto"

La polemica della Chiesa contro la politica scolastica dei governi nazionali si sviluppa soprattutto intorno ai temi del decentramento e della libertà di insegnamento. Ma il bersaglio principale é l'istruzione pubblica.

La Chiesa condanna duramente le scelte accentratrici compiute dal Governo nazionale nei primi anni della vita dello Stato unitario, in campo di politica scolastica.

Le scelte accentratrici sono motivate, di fatto, dalla necessità di arginare la massiccia presenza del clero anche nelle scuole pubbliche , soprattutto se si tiene conto che lo Stato non aveva strutture proprie sufficientemente consolidate e che, come dimostra un'inchiesta promossa dal Ministro Natoli nel 1865: "I due terzi della classe magistrale era costituita da ecclesiastici e religiosi". (4)

Il problema dunque era quello di evitare l'affidamento nei fatti al clero di tutta l'istruzione.

Questa possibilità non poteva non essere percepita come una minaccia nei confronti del consolidamento della propria egemonia da parte della classe dirigente liberale.

La questione della libertà di insegnamento rappresenta, a sua volta un tema centrale nella contrapposizione fra Stato e Chiesa.

Se sul piano ideale, la difesa della libertà di insegnamento poteva apparire sostanzialmente motivata dalla volontà della

Chiesa di opporsi a un laicismo di Stato considerato autoritario, nei fatti, come é stato messo in evidenza in sede storiografica, questa posizione era dettata dalla necessità di difendere la sopravvivenza delle scuole private cattoliche. In questo senso sarebbe più opportuno parlare di 'libertà della scuola' piuttosto che di libertà di insegnamento.

Tuttavia la Chiesa si appropria anche della seconda espressione, e non solo in Italia, in una accezione però che presenta molte ambiguità. Come ha osservato lo storico L. Pazzaglia: "Occorre tener presente che la chiesa era giunta ad assumere il principio della libertà di insegnamento più costretta dai fatti che non convinta della validità della posta in gioco. In occasione del discorso rivolto il 6 gennaio I875 alla Gioventù cattolica, Pio IX testualmente affermava:"E quando dico di reclamare la libertà di insegnamento, la reclamo, non come un principio che non ammetto, ma come una vera necessità".(5)

Nell'Enciclica Libertas del I888, Leone XIII, nel contesto di una generale condanna dei principi del pensiero liberale, si pronuncia duramente anche contro la libertà di insegnamento: "Un giudizio non dissimile va fatto di quella che chiamano libertà di insegnamento. Essendo fuor di dubbio, che la sola verità debba informare le menti....Dal che apparisce essere al tutto contraria alla ragione, e nata a pervertire totalmente le intelligenze quella libertà di cui parliamo, la quale si arroga una sconfinata licenza di insegnare ciò che le piace: licenza che ai cittadini il pubblico potere non può accordare senza fallire a' suoi doveri". (6)

L'unica forma di istruzione accettabile per la Chiesa é quella che si muove nell'ambito della verità, che a sua volta coinci-

de con la dottrina cattolica, da cui deriva che solo alla Chiesa spetta il compito di formare le nuove generazioni.
La Chiesa, dunque, da una parte condanna la libertà di insegnamento, per via della sua matrice liberale ed eversiva, dall'altra la rivendica, non come libertà metodologica e culturale del singolo docente, ma come 'libertà della scuola' (privata) operando una evidente manipolazione semantica ed ideologica.
Negli stessi anni, infatti, il tema della libertà di insegnamento, insieme alla richiesta del ritorno dell'insegnamento religioso nelle scuole pubbliche, diviene una delle rivendicazioni più ricorrenti, ad esempio nelle tematiche trattate nell'ambito dell'attività dell'Opera per i congressi, dal I874 in poi.

## La 'criminalizzazione dell'alfabeto'

L'ideale educativo cattolico, minacciato dalla classe dirigente liberale ma sostenuto dai gruppi sociali più moderati e soprattutto forte di un apparato organizzativo complesso e articolato, continua a fondarsi su una rigida distinzione fra l'educazione del popolo, che non può essere affidata alla scuola pubblica ma deve essere direttamente controllata dalle autorità ecclesiastiche e basarsi soprattutto sul catechismo, e l'istruzione per le classi più elevate che continua a ispirarsi a un modello di tipo gesuitico.
Sulle pagine di Civiltà cattolica e nelle Encicliche di Pio IX e di Leone XIII, l'alfabeto viene spesso accusato di allontanare il popolo dall'amore per il lavoro, di mettere in crisi l'ordine sociale e addirittura di dare incremento al crimine.

"Ora al lavoro si richieggiono braccia e non l'alfabeto e al buon costume conferisce la buona educazione paterna e l'istruzione religiosa". (7)

Nel 1874, il primo Congresso cattolico italiano, tenutosi a Venezia, approva una mozione contro l'obbligo scolastico, sulla base di queste motivazioni: "Si é da molti previsto che lo alfabeto sarebbe un argomento di moralità popolare perché, rendendogli possibile il leggere, avrebbe rimosso il popolo leggente dai delitti. Ma le statistiche criminali provano con l'evidenza delle cifre che se l'alfabeto fosse imputabile di qualche male,lo sarebbe di aver accresciuto il numero dei delinquenti; peroccgé non giustificano in nulla le previsioni che in favor suo si sono mandate attorno".

La preoccupazione del papato nei confronti dell'istruzione obbligatoria si esprime su due piani ambedue legati all'ipotesi che l'alfabetizzazione delle masse portasse allo sconvolgimento di un ordine sociale basato sulle diseguaglianze naturali e che nelle scuole pubbliche la gioventù venisse educata sulla base di dottrine laiche, lontane dalla verità e pericolose per la mente e l'animo dei giovani.

Già nel Sillabo (1864), Pio IX aveva stigmatizzato la tendenza dello Stato ad escludere il clero dalle istituzioni scolastiche individuando in essa una delle proposizioni del pensiero moderno da condannare e respingere.

Questa polemica ideologica é certamente connessa anche agli effetti della legge emanata dal Governo nel 1866, applicata poi a Roma con qualche modifica nel 1873, che nega il riconoscimento legale agli istituti religiosi e qualsiasi riconoscimento da parte dello Stato agli "Ordini, corporazioni e congregazioni religiose e secolari, conservatori e ritiri, i quali importino vita comune e abbiano carattere ecclesiastico",

ma attribuisce ai loro membri la pienezza dei diritti civili e politici.

L'attuazione della legge, frutto di un compromesso fra le posizioni radicali e quelle moderate, risultò complessa e disomogenea. Le congregazioni subirono tuttavia un duro colpo che aggravava una crisi interna già in atto.

Senza dubbio, l'asprezza della polemica va inquadrata anche in questo contesto.

In conclusione,si può affermare che i difficili rapporti fra Stato e Chiesa, soprattutto dopo il I870, hanno rappresentato un ostacolo nei confronti dello sviluppo della scuola statale, la cui mancata espansione in senso democratico va attribuita certamente anche alle debolezze della classe dirigente liberale.

### NOTE

(I)"I laici hanno fallito al loro compito storico di educatori ed elaboratori della intellettualità e della coscienza morale del popolo-nazione...".A.GRAMSCI, *Quaderni del Carcere*, To., Einaudi, I975 pag. 2II8;

(2)T.DE MAURO, *Storia linguistica dell'Italia Unita*, Bari, Laterza,I984;

(3) "Dell'istruzione primaria obbligatoria", in *Civiltà cattolica*, I872, vol. 9, pagg. 9-I0

(4)G. TALAMO, *La scuola. Dalla Legge Casati all'Inchiesta del I864*, Milano, Giuffré, I960 pag.6I

(5)L. PAZZAGLIA,"La libertà dell'insegnamento nell'impegno politico-scolastico del movimento cattolico", in *Problemi e momenti della storia della scuola e dell'educazione*, di AAVV, Pisa, ETS, I982, pag. I49;

(6)LEONE XIII, Enciclica *Libertas*, in *Tutte le encicliche dei Sommi Pontefici*, Mi.,Ed. Corbaccio, I940, pag. 509;

(7) *Civiltà cattolica*, vol.9 cit. pag. I6

# RESUME

Le développement de l'école obligatoire, après l'unification nationale de I860, est devenue l'objet de plusieurs débats politiques et pédagogiques.

A ce sujet, il faut souligner la position de l'Eglise catholique qui, au niveau officiel, exprime souvent des jugements très critiques à propos de l'obligation scolaire.

L'Eglise craignait fortment une exclusive attribution à l'Etat de l'éducation populaire et, par conséquent, à son monopole dans le domaine de l'instruction.

En effect, si la loi Casati (I859) donnait encore des garanties à l'Eglise, la politique du gouvernement libéral devint, les années suiventes, de plus en plus orientée vers une limitation de la présence du clergé dans l'école pubblique.

Se ce point de vue, la question scolaire devient un moment emblématique de la lutte, entre les vieux et les nouveaux cadres dirigeants, pour la direction de la société.

La défense ambigue de la liberté d'endeignement, qui venait, en même temps, contesté à cause de son origine libérale (Leone XIII Encyclique *Libertas* I888), et la dénonciation d'une alphabétisation du peuple qui l'aurait amené à la perte de toute moralité sont les sujets principaux utilisés par l'Eglise dans sa polémique contre l'école obligatoire.

En I874, pendant le premier Congrès catholique, l'Eglise accuse violemment l'obbligation scolaire, poursuivie par l'Etat, en adfirmant que le peuple n'a pas besoin d'alphabet mai du travail et d'une éducation morale et réligiéuse.

Cette position est liée à la méfiance cléricale envers les principes libéraux et socialistes qui menacent politiquement et idéologiquement son pouvoir.

Le difficultés des rapports entre l'Eglise et l'Etat ont représenté un grand obstacle dans le développement de l'école publique. Cependant, du point de vue historiographique, on ne peut pas adfirmer que l'Etat laique fut vraiment intéressé à l'émancipation culturelle du peuple car le groupe dirigeant libéral gardait, malgré tout, son caractère élitaire.

# COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS: A PROBLEM IN THE 19TH CENTURY, A SOLUTION IN THE 20TH CENTURY

J.F.A. Braster
N.L. Dodde

## Late compulsory education

Compulsory education is late in the Netherlands. The obligation to have education is not realized in the Netherlands until 1901. In the early part of the 20th century there is a compulsory education act which obliges children to attend a school or have private tuition from the age of seven plus. After a six-year course pupils are allowed to leave school for good. There is no compulsory attendance at school for them any longer.

This late coming of the compulsory education act is, in itself, not so surprising as far as the Netherlands are concerned. It has to do with the rather liberalistic attitude which respects the freedom of citizens highly. Government interferences are not accepted without much ado. Much is left to the so-called private enterprise. Because, in fact, compulsory education impairs the parental task to bring up and teach the child, the introduction of a compulsory education takes the Netherlands a long time.

This does not mean that some form of compulsory education has not been considered before. It is true, the obligation to have schooling does not exist until the 20th century, as early as the 17th century some parts of the Netherlands know an indirect compulsory education. Those who receive out-relief are obliged to send their children to school, if at least they are to be considered for a benefit. Besides, in some other parts there is a general school fee charge, which compels parents to have their children make use of education.

In the time of the Batavian Republic and the French rule (1795-1814) the then national government makes attempts to realize a compulsory education for all children. These attempts as well as later undertakings fail. Not a single education act of the 19th century - and there are six, viz. those of 1801, 1803, 1806, 1857, 1878 and 1889 - embodies compulsory education.

## Compulsory education and national government

The discussion about compulsory education is carried on especially during the 19th century. Since 1798 the national government is responsible for the Dutch education all over the country. Still this centralism does not lead to state education. The national government makes laws, they have inspectors in their employ to see to the execution of these laws, however, the schools remain in the hands of municipalities and private persons. This is why the institution of compulsory education does not become an obligation instituted by the national government. Municipalities and private persons cannot be forced to admit all children into their schools. It would be a costly affair for them, especially with so many poor people - who would not be in a position to pay even a small school fee - as there are in the Netherlands during the 19th century. The national government, hardly involved in the school system in financial respect, can at most be stimulated to institute a form of compulsory education, the more so as this compulsory education, in fact, applies to the poor and the destitute only. Shopkeepers and well-off people already send their children to school of their own accord or engage a private teacher.

Besides a financial-economic motive there is also a motive of principle not to introduce compulsory education. Is the national government to impose compulsory education, even its sense and meaning are recognized? During three quarters of the 19th century the answer is negative; the national government must not take over the task of the parents, even if they fail to send their children to school. Parents should be persuaded to have the best of intentions towards their children. The state's view in force leaves no room for a legal regulation of compulsory education that is in conflict with the rights of the parents. If necessary, private philantropic institutions ought to point out to parents what their task is and stimulate them to send their children to school. Also municipalities should promote school attendance as much as possible. The national government cannot exert pressure.

About 1870 this idea is changing. Left liberals are of the opinion that inequalities among people should be minimized by measures of the national government; in their view state intervention cannot be rejected any more on grounds of principle. Even the lot of the social-economic weaker ought to be mitigated by state protection. With these left liberal views the Netherlands get into a social-democratic current, which with respect to compulsory education sees a task reserved for the national government. This government is to direct its attention to an obligatory development of the citizens into a civilized and enlightened nation; as to their development many members of society cannot take care of themselves and their children. The education necessary for this development must be of a high standard, which cannot be realized by municipalities and private institutions but for financial help of the state. Since 1878 and 1889, therefore, Dutch education has been subsidized by the national government. With this the financial care of all members of society on the part of the national government as to their development makes a start. About the turn of the century not only soial laws, which amongst other things take children under their protection come into existence, in addition to this prevention one does one's utmost to make children attend school regularly. In 1891 it is informed that the national government intends to come with a compulsory education act, an announcement that is not realized until 1900. At last, after nine years there is a legal regulation that obliges pupils to attend school regularly for six years. Ever since 1st January 1901 compulsory education has applied to all Dutch children.

## Compulsory education and school struggle

One of the tasks of the national government that has existed since the beginning of the 19th century, is care of the school, although municipalities and private persons ought to carry out the regulations. The national government draft regulating education legislation which is written from a non-dogmatic Protestant-Christian point of view. The universally Christian school pays attention to moral education of the pupils which is beyond the views of the various Roman-Catholic, Mennonite, Remonstrant, Lutheran and Calvinist convictions. The school-day begins with a prayer. Hymns are sung. The readers have Christian texts. However, religious teaching in the sense of Christian instruction is banned.

About 1830 there are protests against this universally Christian character of the school. A more profiled Christianity in the school is needed. The school has to be either Calvinistic or Roman-Catholic. Others, on the other hand, want the school to remain as it is, namely a universally Protestant educational institution. In 1848 a solution to this problem is found. It is laid down that teaching is free. Especially in areas with various religions it is now easy to found denominationally minded schools, which was only possible after consent of the sometimes unwilling municipal authorities before 1848. As yet the public school remains universally Protestant and becomes less denominational only in the course of the 20th century. It is remarkable that the Christians, who want to found Roman-Catholic and Protestant-Christian schools, are against compulsory education. The Christians are afraid of the large number of poor pupils, of whom not or hardly any school fee can be asked. In case of compulsory education denominational schools thus become institutions that require too much money. Moreover poor pupils are likely to be expected to go especially to non-denominational schools, where it is possible to have free education, a development that does not appeal to Christians either. So it stands to reason that the Roman-Catholics and Protestants do their utmost to obtain state aid, which makes it possible for them, too, to grant remission of fee to poor pupils.

Until Protestants and Roman-Catholics are given some state aid they are against compulsory education; then many of them prove themselves to be in favour of it. Obviously the interests of the poor are subordinate to the financial possibilities of Christian parties. After, since 1889, there possibilities have been enlarged thanks to state aid, there is not or hardly any objection to taking over the parental duty to bring up and teach their children. All at once compulsory education has become a necessary benefit. Christians even show themselves most content with compulsory education, certainly when in 1917 the financial equalization between all forms of primary education of a non-Christian and a Christian nature is realized. Competition between both forms of education is then a matter of view of life again and not a financial matter any longer.

### Compulsory education and child labour

During the 19th century the Netherlands are an agrarian-commercial society, which only after 1880 gradually changes into an industrial-commercial society. In the former half of the 19th century agriculture provides many people with a poor living. Trade is in a bad way. There is much unemployment, while the well-to-do merchants invest their money abroad. The shopkeepers are hardly certain of a reasonable income. Industry is done in a small scale; the owner works with a limited number of hands at a small pay for a local or regional market.

In the latter half of the 19th century agriculture, trade and industry begin to flourish gradually, at which in the course of time industry in particular is emphasized. The Netherlands are becoming an industrial country. This process, however, develops gradually; it is even possible to divide this industrialization into three phases of development. First of all there is the phase of expansion of home industry and craft (1850-1880). Next there is the phase of mechanization (1880-1950). Finally there is the phase of automation (1950).

Particularly the first phase is of importance to compulsory education, because in this period a great appeal is made to children as a labour force. For the expansion of home industry and craft implies that much manual labour has to be done. There is no question of mechanization, while automation is not even in sight yet. The fields are cultivated with beasts of draught. Dairy produce is prepared for sale on the farm. Live stock is sold direct. Finally industry also requires a lot of labour force. Many day-labourers and casual workers are needed for the production of goods wanted. In order to keep the costs of wages low - and earnings are not high during the 19th century - especially children are made use of. Farmers use them to save a day-labourer. Then children are employed as cheap workers in home industry and craft. Next parents, when they go to work, have their offspring do the housework. Fianally child labour appears to occur frequently in drapery in particular; children do heavy and monotonous work there.

Though as early as 1820 the harmful effects of child labour are drawn attention to - and this not only in a psychosomatical sense - it is not until 1874 that a children act takes children in some degree under its protection. At first child labour is accepted as a datum, later this form of labour is considered necessary and indispensable, gradually, however, child labour becomes a social problem. In 1867 it is properly observed that compulsory school attendance is the most reasonable and effective mean to ensure and further the child's physical and moral development. The Children Act of 1874, however, opposes only excessive child labour, compulsory education is out of the question. When in 1887 it appears that the children act is observed badly and that the check on child labour leaves much to be desired, it is concluded that ultimatley a legal compulsory education is the only effective mean. The national government cannot ignore this any more. The compulsory education act has to come.

## Compulsory education and delinquency

One of the most remarkable arguments, emerging from the discussion about compulsory attendance at school, is decrease in delinquency through compulsory education. The view is held that education exercises influence on people's mentality; they become better through tuition. Especially in the 19th century more tuition is expected to produce more positive effects. It is not only the pupils' intellectual faculties that increase in a qualitative sense by attending school longer, also their moral faculties develop in a favourable sense. In 1897, therefore, the country's authorities give it as their view that education works preventively with regard to delinquency. For among convicts, serving their sentences in prison, there are mostly more illiterates than among the population not coming into conflict with the law. In this connection the percentages of illiterates among conscripts and prisoners are compared (table 1).

It appears that among conscript soldiers the percentage of illiterates is smaller than among delinquents. In the course of years the percentage of illiterates decreases among both groups. The percentage of convicts, however, does not decrease at all. Evidently, ignorance corresponds to a less extent to delinquency than it is thought at first. For another determining phenomenon lies at the root of both aspects. About the turn of the century neglect of education is considered a possibility of delinquency and limitation of intellectual development. Moreover home conditions and economic status of the family are thought to be important. It is obvious that social-cultural and financial-economic poverty is a common factor for delinquency and little education. About 1935 it is observed that attendance at school can affect the degree of juvenile delinquency. The number of juvenile delinquents decreases by forcing youngsters to spend time in learning under supervision. A fall in the percentage of juvenile delinquents is noticed as well as a decline in the percentage of illiterates among these delinquents (table 2). Before the introduction of the compulsory education act the percentage is 11.3. When the compulsory education act has been in operation for twelve months, there is a clear decline from 12.1 % in 1901 to 7.5 % in 1902.

Table 1.

| year<br>1 | percentage illit.conscr.<br>2 | percentage illit.delinq.<br>3 | convicts per 1000<br>4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1855 | 23.0 | 48.1 | 3.5 |
| 1860 | 20.2 | 47.1 | 3.6 |
| 1865 | 18.2 | 38.0 | 3.6 |
| 1870 | 16.3 | 30.0 | 2.9 |
| 1875 | 12.3 | 25.1 | 3.3 |
| 1880 | 11.5 | 25.1 | 3.6 |
| 1885 | 10.5 | 22.0 | 3.8 |
| 1890 | 7.2 | 24.0 | 3.7 |
| 1895 | 5.4 | 20.0 | 3.5 |
| 1900 | 2.3 | 15.9 | 3.0 |
| 1905 | 2.4 | 12.7 | 2.9 |
| 1910 | 1.1 | 9.8 | 3.5 |

## School attendance

The first quantative data about attendance at school are mentioned in 1825. At this it is assumed that one sixth part of the Dutch population is to be considered of school-age. Not nearly all children go to school. Accordingly the percentage of children attending school amounts to 64.8 in 1826, 72.2 in 1835 and 75.1 in 1845 (table 3). The rise continues in the course of time. After 1850 it is even possible to get a more detailed picture of school attendance. The foundation of a statistical society in 1848 affords an opportunity of making a difference in school attendance during winter and summer. In the period from 1851 to 1857 school attendance in the summer is about 13 % to 15 % lower than in the winter. This difference is particu-

Table 2. Illiterates as % of the number of convicts under 16.

| year | 1900 | 1901 | 1902 | 1903 | 1904 | 1905 | 1906 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| % illit. | 11.3 | 12.1 | 7.5 | 6.7 | 6.5 | 3.2 | 1.8 |

larly due to the fact that many children work in the fields in the summer months. For the rest it is notable that the difference in school attendance between January and July is gradually increasing from 14.4 % in 1851 to 12.0 % in 1855 and 4.6 % in 1861 (table 3).

Table 3. School attendance 6-12-year-old 1826-1900 (%)

| Year | January | July | Year | January | April | July | October |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1826 | 64.8 | - | 1865 | 75.7 | 72.7 | 71.1 | 69.1 |
| 1830 | - | - | 1870 | 80.6 | 78.5 | 77.5 | 76.2 |
| 1835 | 72.2 | - | 1875 | 83.0 | 81.1 | 79.4 | 78.5 |
| 1840 | - | - | 1880 | 86.5 | | | |
| 1845 | 75.1 | - | 1885 | 86.8 | | | |
| 1851 | 77.5 | 63.1 | 1890 | 89.1 | | | |
| 1855 | 71.8 | 59.8 | 1895 | 90.5 | | | |
| 1861 | 86.3 | 81.7 | 1900 | 91.4 | | | |

Since 1862 the data about school attendance have been more reliable. It is then known how old the children are who attend school. Besides two measuring moments are added to the moments already used in the winter and the summer: 15th April and 15th October. As it has appeared before more children go to school in the winter months than in the summer months. We can even state that from January to October there is a decline in percentage. Still we see that the season plays a part that is getting less important. In all probability a growing industrialization is making itself felt. Also the fact that society is getting more and more conscious of the problem of non-attendance at school and child labour seems to be of importance here.

Various measures are taken to fight non-attendance at school. In 1866 the Society for the Futherance of National Education is established. In 1875 this society and the School Association, a society established in 1870, whose object it also is to further attendance at school in the Netherlands, amalgamate. Even the state school inspectors pronounce for the introduction of compulsory education as a mean to fight non-attendance at school. The growing influence of the left liberals makes a ban on child labour come. As it has already been noted before, this Children Act of 1874 is no success. In the period from 1881 to 1901 only 13 % of the Dutch municipalities has a ban on field labour being done by children.

The failure of the children act does not undo the trend of attendance at school. Children keep on attending school increasingly, viz. from 86.5 % in 1880 via 89.1 % in 1890 to 91.4 % in 1900. A compulsory education act, therefore, is not really necessary. Many children already go to school. Although the school attendance situation is not most favourable - after all there is relatively much non-attendance at school - the Compulsory Education Act of 1900 rather consolidates a situation that already consists than gives a decisive impulse to an increase in attendance at school. From the six to twelve-year-old children who do not attend a primary school or have private tuition in 1900, 2 % has another form of schooling. About 4 % is legally absent and only 2.7 % illegally.

## Extension of compulsory education

The Compulsory Education Act of 1900 has been altered several times. On the one hand these alterations refer to technical corrections, on the other hand to an extension of the compulsory education period. At first compulsory education starts at the age of seven. Later, in 1969, a child can be admitted to school in the year in which he reaches the age of six. An extension of the compulsory education period from six to seven years takes place in 1921. In the period 1924-1928 a six-year compulsory educaton is in force again. This alteration is notably dictated by financial considerations. In 1928 the seven-year compulsory education is re-introduced. In the time of the German occupation in World War II compulsory education is extended to eight years as a result of the introduction of an eight year's course in primary education. Also after the occupation the eight-year compulsory education remains operative, though not effective until 1950, because for the period 1947-1950 a temporary regulation is in force, laying down that compulsory education will last seven years. The consideration in this case is that the eighth year's course of primary education is of little or no importance unless those who teach have a supplementary training during a certain period. In 1967 the need is felt to revise the Compulsory Education Act of 1900, which has been altered many times, entirely or replace it by a new law. A nine-year compulsory education is asked for. The sanction system, too, must be readjusted. Inspection of enforcement of the act should rather have the character of social care than judicial action. The new Compulsory Education Act is effected in 1968. In 1971 the nine-year compulsory education is introduced. At the same time a partial compulsory education is introduced. The object of this partial compulsory education is to have the older pupils have schooling for one or two days a week during one or two years after the end of full-time compulsory education. Then in 1975 the ten-year compulsory education is introduced. At the moment the Netherlands have a twelve-year compulsory education, which begins when a child is five years old and ends with a partially compulsory education of two days a week for 16-year-old children.

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# SUMMARY

Compulsory education is late in the Netherlands. The obligation to have education is not realized in the Netherlands until 1901. This late coming of compulsory education has to do with the rather liberalistic attitude which respects the freedom of citizens-parents highly. The national government must not take over the task of the parents.

About 1870 this idea is changing. In the view of the upcoming left liberals the state intervention cannot be rejected any more on grounds of principle. The government has to direct its attention to an obligatory development of the citizens into a civilized and enlightened nation.

During the last quarter of the 19th century there is a lot of discussions about compulsory education. The discussions are complicated by questions of child labour, of youth delinquency, of evolution in school attendance and of the school struggle between christians and non-christians.

The extension of compulsory education takes place during the 20th century. At this moment the Netherlands have an twelve-year compulsory education, which begins when a child is five year old and ends with a partially compulsory education of two days a week for 16-years-old children.

# Bollettino

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# SCHOOL AND LITERACY. INTRODUCTION OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN NORWAY IN THE 1730'S AND 1740'S

## Knut Tveit

### Introduction

Topographically speaking, Norway has always had special characteristics. A very large proportion of the population has lived in the country districts (around 1800 about 90%). Domiciles have been scattered and communications difficult.

Industrialisation came to Norway relatively late, starting up in earnest only in the second half of the 19th century. Even then the primary industries of agriculture and fishery were totally dominant for a long time.

As to the political situation, Norway lost her independence in the 14th century, and for more than 400 years was united to Denmark. In 1807 Denmark/Norway declared war on Great Britain, and when Napoleon was defeated, the Kiel peace settlement of 1814 decided that Norway was to be united to Sweden, a union which lasted until 1905.

The topographical, economic and political situations had important consequences for the school in Norway. The scattered population made it difficult to arrange universal education. North Norway (the diocese of Tromsø), for instance, was given partial dispensation from the education law of 1739 on account of the difficult topographical aspects of the northern part of the country.

Norway had had an elementary school for about a century before industrialisation seriously got under way; thus, introduction of the elementary school did not have anything to do with this. The school was established as a result of a desire for reforms in the way the Christian religion was taught.

Prior to 1814 educational policy was planned in Copenhagen, and the reforms were primarily made to suit circumstances in Denmark. The government's policy was clearly one of centralisation: all important institutions were to be placed in Denmark and serve both countries from there. One result of this policy was that Norway only obtained a separate

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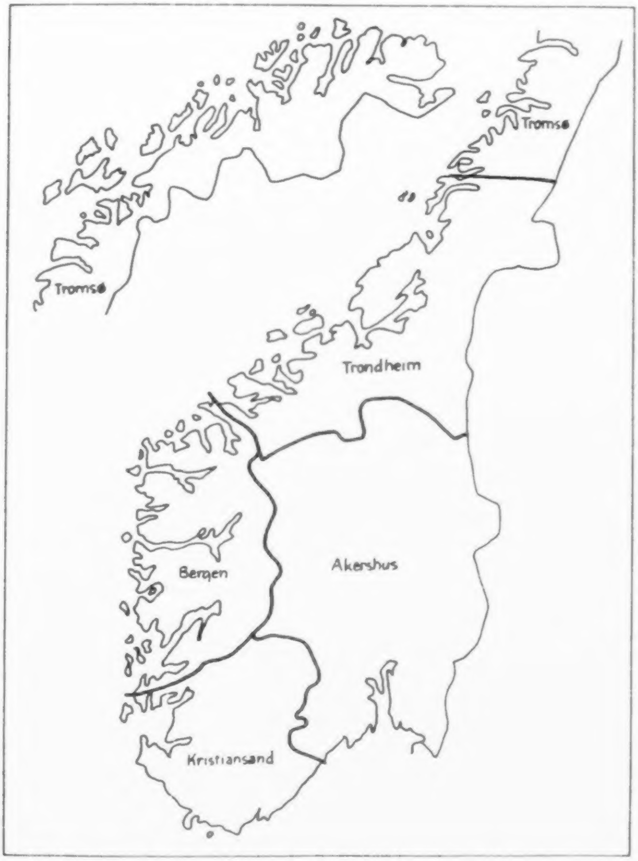
Dioceses in Norway before 1863: Akershus, Kristiansand, Bergen, Trondheim and Tromsø (separated from Trondheim in 1803).



university in 1811, three years before the dissolution of the union. The same thing happened in teacher training: the teacher training colleges or seminaries were to be in Denmark. But not all Danish laws could be transplanted to Norway - for instance, the arrangements for school management. In both Denmark and Norway strong reactions arose against the expense of centralised administration of the school under government officials, as envisaged by the law of 1739. By a new law in 1740, responsibility for the school in Denmark was placed in the hands of the landowners. However, such a principle could not be enforced in Norway, since there was no landowning class to speak of. By a law of 1741, the responsibility was therefore placed upon the local parish. An "educational commisssion" with farmers in the majority obtained great influence in the school, in spite of the fact that formally, the commission only had the right of forwarding proposals to higher authorities. The school in Norway was therefore largely controlled locally, a circumstance which had big consequences for school finances and subject content.

## Elementary schools before 1739

Before 1739 practically no schools existed in the country districts of Norway. Exceptions were a few industrial areas (e.g. iron foundries), and some districts in Finnmark where missions had been set up among the Lapplanders from about 1720. The only organised theoretical instruction given had been the teaching of the catechism that the parish clerks had carried out as preparation for the first holy communion.

In the cities the situation was different. The diocesan cities of Oslo, Kristiansand, Bergen and Trondheim had cathedral schools; most other towns had Latin schools from the time of the Reformation. In 1739 all the Latin schools were turned into elementary schools (in reality some of these had been elementary schools for a long time). In addition there were other schools teaching writing and arithmetic, or plain poor-schools.

So it was the country districts which lacked schools, and where more than 90% of the population lived in the 1730's. From this point on, this paper will therefore deal with these schools.

## The concept of literacy

It is a point of discussion among Norwegian researchers how widespread literacy was before the introduction of the school, and how long it took to eradicate illiteracy. Disagreement is partly due to the fact that researchers have varying ways of defining the concept of literacy, and so we will examine it a little more closely.

The content of the concept literacy depends on the period in time - it must be seen in relation to the aims of the instruction at that time and age. In Norway there were roughly two main periods during which literacy was the objective. The first period started about 1730, when it was the intention to teach children to read familiar texts. The second one started about a century later, with the intention of teaching them also to read unfamiliar texts. It is the first one of these phases in Norway that will be dealt with here.

It is a problem in literacy research that far from all researchers have defined what they mean by the concept. But Norwegian researchers seem to agree that the concept literacy in the first phase of securing it only comprises the ability to read; writing is not included. Such exclusion of the ability to write seems also to be general in Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland. Cf. works by Johansson (Sweden), Markussen and Skovgaard

Pettersen (Denmark), Luttinen (Finland) and Guttormsson (Iceland). (In the second phase it is natural to connect reading and writing ability with each other. At least, there is a time-parallel in Norway when ability to read unfamiliar texts and to write became general.)

The author of this paper sets the following requirements for literacy in the period from 1730 - 1850: ability to read familiar printed text with a reasonable degree of understanding. By familiar text is meant a text the pupils have gone through, e.g. in a lesson at school. The aim of instruction in reading was not primarily that the pupils should be able to acquire new knowledge by reading, but to understand and remember what they had learnt. The problem with the old method of learning by heart was that the subject-matter was not always understood, and quickly forgotten. The situation changed completely when the pupils had a text for support. The expression "printed text" is brought into the definition in order to exclude reading of handwriting (which would have implied ability to write). There is no requirement as to duration of the ability to read; it is sufficient to have been characterised as literate once, for instance before taking communion for the first time.

Sources for investigation into literacy

Disagreement on the extent of literacy is also due to researchers having different types of sources. One type of source which gives a high percentage of literacy are the socalled "sjeleregistre" - registers of souls, a sort of census that also includes evaluation of literacy. One example from 1736 is a register from the parish of Sandar in the diocese of Akershus, listing 371 unmarried persons above 7 years of age, contains the following evaluations (the register has been preserved up to the letter L):

| If able to read ("Om læser i bog") | N | % |
|---|---|---|
| can read; reads books; reads very well/well/properly/without fault | 219 | 59 |
| reads fairly well/a little/not well | 31 | 8 |
| reads poorly/very little/badly | 65 | 18 |
| cannot read | 18 | 5 |
| can spell, knows the alphabet | 36 | 10 |
| deaf, dumb | 2 | 0 |

These figures show that of single persons above 7 years of age, approximately 60% must be characterised as literate. In all probability, also, a number of the children who could only spell would be able to read later on. The majority of single persons above 7 years of age in Sandar must thus have been able to read. Probably the percentage of literacy was equally large among married couples, since a knowledge test was taken on entering into matrimony. Other registers also give a high percentage.

The main problem with using such registers as sources is one of representation, because only very few of them have been found: in Akershus only in 5 of 115 parishes, in other dioceses even fewer. Certainly, it is a fact that more parishes must have had registers (most likely every sixth parish in the diocese of Akershus), but just the same it is clear that the registers alone make up too scanty a basis for generalisation.

The author of this paper has also used other sources in research into literacy, especially clerical correspondence of various sorts from the first half of the 1730's. This research has been limited to the diocese of Akershus (just over 40% of the population). Other people have examined other parts of the country up to a point.

## The school and literacy

The spreading of literacy in Norway began when the exceptionally gifted Peder Hersleb became bishop of Akershus in 1731. He immediately made it compulsory from then onwards to be able to read properly before taking communion for the first time. He also proposed schools, but he wanted to await reactions from the clergy of the diocese before proceeding on the matter. At the same time he ordered all the clergy to hold 'registers of souls'.

The sources show that the clergy of the diocese had a very positive attitude to schools, indeed many of them thought that bishop Hersleb's demand for literacy would be impracticable without schools. After several journeys around the diocese Hersleb came to the same conclusion. Everywhere he went he found a severe lack of knowledge about the Christian religion. The old arrangement with a test in the vicarage before first communion had to be replaced by a public test in church, after previous training of the vicar. Prior to this, the children had to go to school to learn to read. Hersleb therefore began to practice confirmation before it was made the law of the land in 1736. The law stated that no-one could be confirmed without first having attended school. Then in 1739 the law on schools came into force. In all the country districts schools were to be established for all the children to learn to read.

In the author's opinion the percentage of literate people in the registers of souls is not representative. The registers were probably set up by particularly gifted clergymen with an interest in education. The sources bear witness to indifference towards the registers, sometimes even opposition to them. They also took up a lot of time. But most likely more important was the fact that they were overshadowed by the work of introducing the school. Support for this supposition is also found in the neighbouring countries of Sweden and Denmark. In Denmark most work was put into the schools, and there very few registers have been found (cf. Markussen). In Sweden, on the other hand, which had its first law on education more than 100 years after Denmark-Norway, the registers are abundant. There the parents were the teachers and the clergy supervised them (cf. Johansson).

Before the advent of the school, most people were illiterate. This was the reason for establishment of schools, and it was due to the schools that illiteracy was eradicated. Previously, the ability to read had been the privilege of the well-to-do, except in certain parishes with particularly interested clergy.

The diocese of Akershus was in a class by itself because instruction in reading started up before the introduction of the school, when bishop Hersleb gave the signal early in the 1730's by making ability to read a condition for taking the first communion. Probably this diocese was already on the way to getting its first literate generation when the school was introduced a decade later. The school took over and completed a process already begun.

The spread of literacy went hand in hand with training in the Christian religion. It all started with learning to read in connection with holy communion, confirmation, and this continued for at least another century. As previously mentioned, familiar texts were taught. Certainly, some of the people could read unfamiliar text, in the 1730's and before. But their numbers were few, and the introduction of the school had no significance for them. A considerable length of time was to pass before the school became important for this form of literacy.

A comparison of the rise of literacy in Denmark-Norway and Sweden-Finland is interesting because it can throw light on the significance of the school for literacy. In Denmark-Norway schools were established; in Sweden-Finland instruction was left to the parents under the guidance of the clergy, as mentioned previously. It looks as though our authorities exaggerated the importance of the school. It is, at least, not possible to prove any effect towards literacy. In Sweden the campaign for literacy started around 1700, and this lead over Norway continued throughout the century.

As previously mentioned, there were vigorous protests against several aspects of the law on schools of 1739: it was too expensive. For one thing, ambulatory schools were supposed only to be the exception, but in Norway with its scattered population they were the only realistic solution. In a new law of 1741 requirements were greatly reduced. But the requirement for establishment of schools in all parts of the country was not relinquished. They were required to commence before the autumn of 1742.

As a consequence of the influence of the local community over the schools, variation was quite common from parish to parish. The author of this paper has done investigations on the introduction of the school in every parish in the diocese of Akershus. In 1745, more than 90% of the diocese had got a school, and by the middle of the century the school was in place in practically all districts. No corresponding investigation has been carried out for the rest of the country, but with the exception of Northern Norway, it is not likely that there was much difference between the dioceses.

The introduction of the school was a milestone in the history of our country. For the first time everyone had the opportunity of organised instruction, including the poor. That its introduction occurred at the same time as one of the famines of the eighteenth century by no means diminishes the event.

It is difficult to say anything definite as to the date when illiteracy had been eradicated in Norway. Many problems of methodology and definitions arise in such research. Some of the sources are also poor in the second half of the 18th century. But on the whole, around 1800 it looks as though people can read. So it took the school a couple of generations to achieve it.

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# THE IDEA OF UNBROKEN PRIMARY SCHOOL IN NORWAY

## Knut Jordheim

Although the vast majority of children in Norway between the age 7-14 attended official primary schools founded by the legislation of 1739-41, one must pay attention to two other school systems in order to understand the development of compulsory education in Norway.

Firstly, the foundation of educational institutions i Norway dates back to the 12th century, when the first socalled cathedral schools were established in Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim. These schools were attached to the bishopchurches (cathedrals) in the respective towns and were intended to educate officials not only for the Church, but also for the Government. Usually these schools are known as "learned schools" or "latin schools", the last name referring to the most dominant subject taught through the years. In short we may say that out of these schools secondary schools, both offical and private, later developed.

The other school system to be mentioned is the urban primary school system which had a somewhat different basis than the primary school system of the countryside. There was no spesific school legislation for the town municipalities before 1848, somewhat 35 years after the dissolution of the union with Denmark. Children not attending "learned schools", which during the 19th century grew in number and were all situated in towns, were offered different types of schools, some "free" and ran by private institutions or persons, some more official and often closely connected with the municipal social work for the poor. A considerable improvement in urban primary school legislation was made by the Act of 1848, which introduced compulsory education for all, but without yet regulating the

the schools into a unity system ( see later).

From now on one can say the compulsory education for all children from the age of seven to the age of Confirmation (within the Lutheran Church), usually the age of fourteen, was settled in Norway. This was in practice a schooling of seven years, but within a system of parallell schools.

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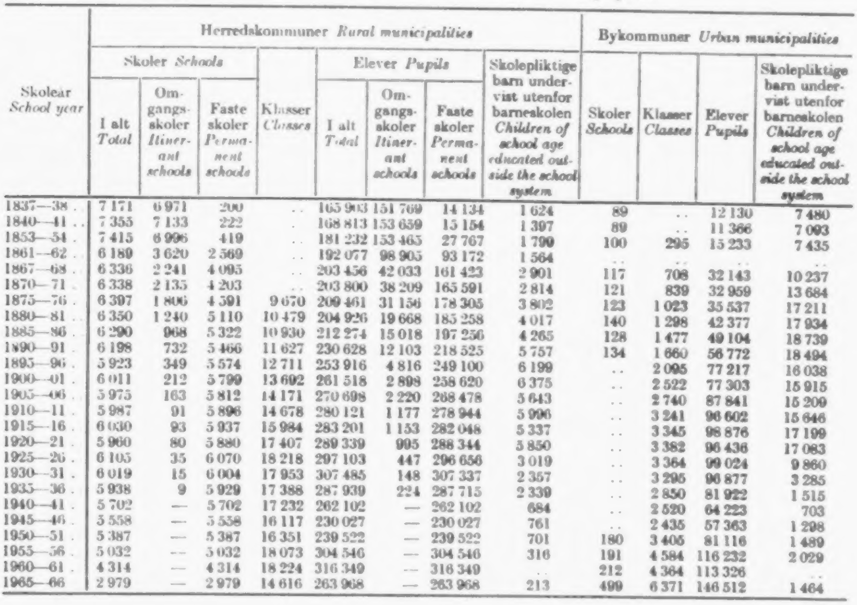
A close look at the historical statistics, the first one from 1837, gives a picture of school attendance like this (see Table below):

*Primary schools, lower stage. Classes and pupils.*



| Skoleår *School year* | Herredskommuner *Rural municipalities* | | | | | | | | Bykommuner *Urban municipalities* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Skoler *Schools* | | | Klasser *Classes* | Elever *Pupils* | | | Skolepliktige barn undervist utenfor barneskolen *Children of school age educated outside the school system* | Skoler *Schools* | Klasser *Classes* | Elever *Pupils* | Skolepliktige barn undervist utenfor barneskolen *Children of school age educated outside the school system* |
| | I alt *Total* | Omgangsskoler *Itinerant schools* | Faste skoler *Permanent schools* | | I alt *Total* | Omgangsskoler *Itinerant schools* | Faste skoler *Permanent schools* | | | | | |
| 1837—38 . | 7 171 | 6 971 | 200 | . . | 165 903 | 151 769 | 14 134 | 1 624 | 89 | . . | 12 130 | 7 480 |
| 1840—41 . . | 7 355 | 7 133 | 222 | . | 168 813 | 153 659 | 15 154 | 1 307 | 89 | . . | 11 366 | 7 093 |
| 1853—54 . | 7 415 | 6 996 | 419 | . . | 181 232 | 153 465 | 27 767 | 1 799 | 100 | 295 | 15 233 | 7 435 |
| 1861—62 . | 6 189 | 3 620 | 2 569 | . . | 192 077 | 98 905 | 93 172 | 1 564 | . . | . . | . . | . . |
| 1867—68 . | 6 336 | 2 241 | 4 095 | . . | 203 456 | 42 033 | 161 423 | 2 901 | 117 | 708 | 32 143 | 10 237 |
| 1870—71 . | 6 338 | 2 135 | 4 203 | . . | 203 800 | 38 209 | 165 591 | 2 814 | 121 | 839 | 32 959 | 13 684 |
| 1875—76 . | 6 397 | 1 806 | 4 591 | 9 670 | 209 461 | 31 156 | 178 305 | 3 802 | 123 | 1 023 | 35 537 | 17 211 |
| 1880—81 . . | 6 350 | 1 240 | 5 110 | 10 479 | 204 926 | 19 668 | 185 258 | 4 017 | 140 | 1 298 | 42 377 | 17 934 |
| 1885—86 . | 6 290 | 968 | 5 322 | 10 930 | 212 274 | 15 018 | 197 256 | 4 265 | 128 | 1 477 | 49 104 | 18 739 |
| 1890—91 . | 6 198 | 732 | 5 466 | 11 627 | 230 628 | 12 103 | 218 525 | 5 757 | 134 | 1 660 | 56 772 | 18 494 |
| 1895—96 . | 5 923 | 349 | 5 574 | 12 711 | 253 916 | 4 816 | 249 100 | 6 199 | . . | 2 095 | 77 217 | 16 038 |
| 1900—01 . | 6 011 | 212 | 5 799 | 13 692 | 261 518 | 2 898 | 258 620 | 6 375 | . . | 2 522 | 77 303 | 15 915 |
| 1905—06 . | 5 975 | 163 | 5 812 | 14 171 | 270 698 | 2 220 | 268 478 | 5 643 | . . | 2 740 | 87 841 | 15 209 |
| 1910—11 . | 5 987 | 91 | 5 896 | 14 678 | 280 121 | 1 177 | 278 944 | 5 996 | . . | 3 241 | 96 602 | 15 646 |
| 1915—16 . | 6 030 | 93 | 5 937 | 15 984 | 283 201 | 1 153 | 282 048 | 5 337 | . . | 3 345 | 98 876 | 17 199 |
| 1920—21 . | 5 960 | 80 | 5 880 | 17 407 | 289 339 | 995 | 288 344 | 5 850 | . . | 3 382 | 96 436 | 17 083 |
| 1925—26 . | 6 105 | 35 | 6 070 | 18 218 | 297 103 | 447 | 296 656 | 3 019 | . . | 3 364 | 99 024 | 9 860 |
| 1930—31 . | 6 019 | 15 | 6 004 | 17 953 | 307 485 | 148 | 307 337 | 2 357 | . . | 3 295 | 96 877 | 3 285 |
| 1935—36 . | 5 938 | 9 | 5 929 | 17 388 | 287 939 | 224 | 287 715 | 2 339 | . . | 2 850 | 81 922 | 1 515 |
| 1940—41 . | 5 702 | — | 5 702 | 17 232 | 262 102 | — | 262 102 | 684 | . . | 2 520 | 64 223 | 703 |
| 1945—46 . | 5 558 | — | 5 558 | 16 117 | 230 027 | — | 230 027 | 761 | . . | 2 435 | 57 363 | 1 298 |
| 1950—51 . | 5 387 | — | 5 387 | 16 351 | 239 522 | — | 239 522 | 701 | 180 | 3 405 | 81 116 | 1 489 |
| 1955—56 . | 5 032 | — | 5 032 | 18 073 | 304 546 | — | 304 546 | 316 | 191 | 4 584 | 116 232 | 2 029 |
| 1960—61 . | 4 314 | — | 4 314 | 18 224 | 316 349 | — | 316 349 | . . | 212 | 4 364 | 113 326 | . . |
| 1965—66 | 2 979 | — | 2 979 | 14 616 | 263 968 | — | 263 968 | 213 | 499 | 6 371 | 146 512 | 1 464 |

From "Historical statistics", Oslo 1969, p.603.

1) In rural municipalities most of the children attended official primary schools, some few though in governesslike education ( mostly children of parents belonging to the civil service or the official class ). Only the latter had normally the intention of further education.

2) In urban municipalities half of the children attended official primary schools and the other half private independant schools or those connected with "learned schools" as preparatory classes.

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Secondary education was reprganized by the Act of 1869 due to democratic forces. Two types of schools, or better a lower and an upper level, were introduced: a 6-years course for pupils from age 9 to 15, the socalled "middleschool", and a 3-years course from age 15 to 18, the "gymnasium". Admittance to the gymnasium was based upon middleschool exam and the final exam from the gymnasium served as the matriculation exam for the University.

Another intention of the above indicated democratic movement was to establish the first three years of education at the official primary schools ( i.e. in the towns ) as preparatory classes for secondary education. Partly due to social class distinction, partly due to the low standard of primary schools, this did not work. In the years to come, however, hard work was done to rebuild official primary education. Important acts were passed both in 1860 ( on rural primary schools) and in 1889 ( on both rural and urban primary schools ) fortifying primary education all over the country.

More and more the schools became permanent and no longer ambulatory even at the countryside. Lay subjects were to play a major role in the curriculum. Elected school boards were put in charge of the local schools. And above all, the acts improved management and supervision by establishing full time school-directorship in rural areas and full time school-inspectors in several of the towns. Besides, teacher education was steadily improved.

The important act, though, to reduce the spread of the parallell school system now discussed, was Act on secondary education passed in 1896. In accordance with this act pupils admitted to middleschool were to have at least five years of primary school training, either in an official primary school or in a private institution ( Private education has never been forbidden, but has had poor economic foundation until an act was passed in 1970 giving private schools state support on certain premisses ). The matriculation exam was now reached through a 4-years course in the middleschool and a 3-years course at the gymnasium. The curriculum of the the gymnasium was reorganized in which latin was to play a minor role. Two major "lines" or "sides" were introduced, one in which the main subjects were founded on modern sciences and the other on modern languages with English as a major. The teaching of modern foreign languages started in first grade of middleschool ( parallell to the sixth grade in primary school ). In a very few urban municipalities secondary school was built upon seven years of primary school training ( in the official schools ) giving a 2-years or a 3-years course in middleschool and the ordinary 3-years course at the gymnasium.

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From now on the parallell school system declined. The main political issue was how to expand 7-years official primary school as "bottom school", as it was put, for secondary education. The idea was to organize primary education as an "unbroken school", i.e. with no differentiation at all except for some special classes for severe retarded and maladjusted children. This unbrokeness together with the linking between primary and secondary schools was named "the unity school system".

The linking problem soon became a hot political issue from the beginning of this century. One may say that up to now the linking problem had been a problem for the school people themselves, although the Liberal party since Parliamentarism was introduced by change of government in 1884, had payed much interest in educational problems. Many teachers, especially at the primary level, were at that time liberals and both adopted and launched several school problems as political issues.

But the big move towards placing the unity school problem as a typical political issue came from the Socialists. The Labour party, founded in 1887, had from the beginning only a few adherents, but became the largets single party in Norway from the late 1920s. The Socialists were without any reservation, one may say, spokesmen for the 7-years course of unbroken primary education. In addition some were spokesmen for an 8-years or even a 10-years course of compulsory education. Most of them were at the beginning in favour of the middleschool as they estimated this school to give them a new and hard-earned competance and social status. Their intention was to reduce the effects of the old class distinction and place all on equal footing.

The Conservatives were by nature not on the barricades struggling for an unbroken primary education to be compulsory at this time. One has to underline that the Conservatives did much to build up a strong and well organinzed official primary school, a fact many educational historians have not payed much attention to. Many of the leading Conservatives were at the same time leading educationalists and earned wide reputation for their work, both men and women. Some of them were amongst the pioneers to establish alternatives to the middleschool as they saw the growing demands of a new, predominantly industrial society. Hence the Conservatives were spokesmen for a differentiated school system, and "not only to hook the existing primary stage on to the existing secondary stage," as one of them put it. The Conservatives were faithful member of the many commissions working on the linking problems, and always with a long-range view.

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It was the question of teaching foreign languages that first of all caused the problems for linking. There was common agreement among many politicians, particullarily Conservatives, teachers and leading educationalists that postponing the teaching of foreign languages to the 8th grade in stead of the existing 6th grad in the prevailing system, was both undesirable and ineffective. When and how to start the teaching of foreign language within the official primary school remained the bone of contention for the first two or three deacdes of the 20th century.

It has to be mentioned that the work of several commissions never undertook the whole range of educational and organizational problems until the early 1920s. In 1919, however, the Standing committee at the Parliament dealing with educational issues, recommended a new commission to be established "to put the national school system in the melting pot", as stated, in order to reconstruct the whole system. The Standing committee did not only point at the organizational problems to be solved, but also stressed the importance of "inner reforms" in accordance with new educational standards both in Europe and North America.

The Parliament then recommended the Goverment to appoint what was called a "Parliamentary Commission" to discuss proposals for reforms of the national educational system. As the Liberal government did not follow up this recommendation, especially Socialists became impatient and put forward a proposal for the Parliament the same year (1920) on regulation concerning State contribution to secondary schools:

> "No funds alloted to state ran secondary schools if not pupil catchment is based upon exam from a 7-years course of primary schooling."

There was a majority in favour of the proposal from the Socialists and the Liberals, while the Conservatives claimed the resolution of 1919 to be put into action first ( i.e. appointing a "Parliamentarian Committee"). From now on a dramatic decrease in supprt of the 5+4 years of schooling took place ( see Table, p.2 ).

Generally speaking, from 1921 the 7-years official primary school was the only elementary training in Norway. Some very few municipalities were able to offer the former organization by financing secondary schools on their own. It must be underlined that the regulations were not due to an act passed, but economic means that forced the municipalities to adjust to the principle of unbroken school immediately. An unpopular consequence was extention of the total length of schooling from 12 to 13 years.

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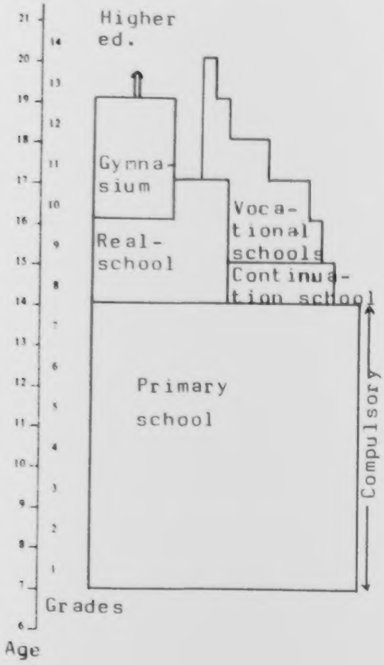
A parliamentary commission came very soon to work on the problems of a new national school system, but due to economic crisis and successive political instability during the 1920s,



The Norwegian school system after the Acts of 1935-36 no new acts were passed before middle of the 1930s. But then, the first of acts to lay the basis for the Norwegian unity school system was passed in 1935, the Act on secondary education. This act introduced a somewhat new secondary school model with a 3-years course in the realschool ( the former middleschool) of which the two first years could be in common with a 5-years course of the gymnasium.

By this the total length of primary pluss secondary schooling was brought back to 12 years. To complete the realschool another finishing year was added with a final exam.

The major demand on the 7-years course of official primary school by the Act of 1935 was to include teaching of English as the foreign language in the two last grades. Hence, in order to establish a unity school system one had to modify the original idea of an unbroken primary level. The teaching of foreign language could not suppose to be compulsory for all children at this time ( took place in 1969 ) and a light qualitative differentiation was to be tolerated. A form of quantitative differentiation was also permitted in respect to special education for smaller groups of handicapped children ( formerly introduced, but extended ). This reform was relevant most for the urban school system, hence the acts passed in 1936 were still one for urban and one for rural areas ( one common act finaly passed in 1959 ).

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The main conclusion after the above discription of the development of compulsory education in Norway together with an interpretation may be as follows:

A modified unbroken 7-years course of primary education was established as compulsory in Norway by acts of 1935 and 1936. A majority of pupils had already been in this type of school system since 1921 by parliamentary regulation of 1920. This is held to be a fairly unique arrangment in comparison with other countries.

An explanation to this situation may be to state that Norway at this time was a non-pluralistic and homogenius society with deep roots in a stable rural culture.The conflicts and crises that occured were solved within a parliamentarian democratic system. It must be underlined that social class distinctions steadily declined and did not dominate the political work .

# SUMMARY

Primary education in Norway was made compulsory by different acts concluding with an act of 1848 for urban municipalities. Children at the countryside attended officials schools, while half of the children in towns attended private schools. From the last part of the 19. century the movement of making official school the only acceptable one became strong.

One obstacle was the teaching of foreign languages, which was demanded from secondary schools to start as earky as possible. The idea of "unbroken bottom school" was from the beginning of the 20. cenyury put forward as the main educational reform. Nevertheless, the reform was not to be realized before it was vied as a typical political issue. Socialists and Liberals put forward a proposal in Parliament in 1920 not to grant State money to secondary schools unless they wre based upon exam from a seven-years course of primary schooling.

Althoug this was agreed upon, no act was passed before middle of the 1930s. But from 1935 on seven years of primary school was established as "bottom school", on which secondary education had to build. Primary education could not stay completely undifferentiated. Teaching of a foreign language started at the 6th grade and was made compulsory for those heading for "realschool" and "gymnasium" introduced by the reform mentioned .

# L'INTRODUCTION DE L'OBLIGATION SCOLAIRE DANS LA POLOGNE, LA PRUSSE ET L'AUTRICHE

Marianna Krupa

## 1. Les causes de l'introduction du devoir scolaire

La pratique scolaire jusqu'au XVIII-e siècle ne connaissait pas la notion de l'enseignement obligatoire. Les classes riches éduquaient leurs enfants à la maison, et les enfants pauvres fréquentaient volontairement les écoles paroissiales entretenues par l'Eglise. L'hierarchie ecclesiastique, pour des raisons réligieuses, cherchait à developper le réseau des écoles et à étendre l'enseignement sur de larges couches de la population. Les évèques polonais, comme W. Sierakowski, pendant les synodes chargeaient les prêtres de leur dioecèse de la fondation des écoles paroissiales, dans lesquelles les enfants pourraient apprendre la religion et "autres choses utiles dans la vie", comme on l'a exprimé dans le synode de Lwów en 1765[1]. Malgré ces efforts, le réseau des écoles demeurait insuffisant et la fréquentation peu satisfaisante.

A coté de l'Eglise, l'état absolu commence au XVIII-e siècle à s'intéresser de plus en plus à l'instruction du peuple. Les causes en sont économiques. L'industrie, en voie de développement, recherche un ouvrier qualifié. Les changements dans l'agriculture, dans les métodes de la gestion à la campagne, et surtout le physiocratisme tournent l'attention des classes dominantes sur la nécéssité de l'instruction du peuple[2]. Ces motifs restant en relation étroite avec l'introduction du devoir scolaire sont les mêmes dans tous les états. Mais, à côté d'eux, il en existe d'autres, plus diversifiés. En Pologne, outre les motifs économiques, la cause de l'interêt porté à l'instruction du peuple est la tendence à faire participer de larges couches de la population dans l'enrichissement du pays et à preserver ainsi son indépendance. La situation politique l'exige. Le premier partage de la Pologne en 1772 a montré aux réformateurs que l'education de la jeunesse dans l'esprit patriotique pouvait seule défendre le pays contre d'autres partages. Cet intérêt a augmenté après la fondation de la Commission de l'Education Nationale /KEN/ en 1773. Les projets d'organisation des écoles, envoyés à l'appel de celle-ci, traitaient le problème de l'éducation du peuple dans l'esprit du Siècle des Lumières, se servaient des mots d'ordre démocratiques pour prouver la nécéssité d'ouvrir l'accès à l'école à tous les enfants, afin d'en former des citoyens conscients travaillant avec dévouement pour le bien de leur patrie.

Le devoir scolaire qui fait l'objet de notre rapport n'a été introduit en Pologne que dans le débuts du XIX-e siècle. Les causes en restaient toujours les mêmes.

Les causes de l'intérêt porté à l'instruction populaire étaient un peu différents dans les états absolus, tels que la Prusse et l'Autriche. Leur facteur dominant était la tendance du gouvernement à se subordonner tous les domaines de la vie des sujets. L'industrie grandissante avait besoin d'un ouvrier qualifié dans les manufactures. L'état prussien recherchait des gens lettrés pour en faire ses sous-officiers. Les idées du Siècle des Lumières y étatent aussi pour quelque chose. Les écoles populaires ont été quand même laissées à l'Eglise protestante, tenue d'éleves de bons sujets obeissants et croyants. Comme en Pologne, certains aristocrates de l'esprit progressite s'intéressaient aux problèmes de l'éducation, tel F. E. Rochow, et fondaient les écoles élementaires dans leurs biens. Ils croyaient tous l'éducation populaire la condition fondamentale de leur richesse, de même que de celle des paysans et de la nation. La fréquentation à ces écoles laissait beaucoup à désirer. Surtout pendant les travaux de champs les écoles restaient vides. La situation exigeait un changement radical.

Les souverains de l'Autriche ont les premiers fait l'école populaire le domaine de leur intérêt. Marie-Thérèse, dans le decret publié en 1770 qui solutionnait les controverses sur la compétence des autorités laiques et ecclesiastiques pour engager et congédier les instituteurs populaires, a décidé que les problèmes de l'école appartiennent à l'état. Ce decret, quoique non suivi d'aucunes actions concrètes, a posé quand même le problème de l'éducation populaire. La situation l'exigeait. Les statistiques des enfants à l'âge scolaire ont prouvé que 17-18% à peine fréquentait l'école. L'état des choses n'était pas satisfaisant dans toute la monarchie.

A titre d'exemple, je cite quelques données. Dans la basse Autriche, sur les 133.419 enfants à l'âge scolaire il n'y avait que 28.292 écoliers. L'évêque de Passava, Léopold Firmin, disait que 2/3 d'enfants étaient perdus pour l'état et pour l'Eglise parce qu'ils ignoraient leurs devoirs fundament aux envers eux[3]. L'école, conformément aux principes de la politique d'état, devait former chez les sujets la même idéologie et l'attachement à la personne du souverain. La réalisation de ce principe était particulièrement importante pour l'unification, sur le plan religieux, culturel et national, des provinces qui composaient l'état. Ces facteurs ont décidé des mesures nécessaires. Mais, comme dans les autres états, il était difficile d'entretenir les écoles à base des fonds publies, ce qui contribuerait le mieux à un pourcentage désiré d'écoliers. Aucun état en question ne l'a fait. Après les discussions, on a élaboré le plan d'une loi sur l'éducation populaire pour tous les pays de la monarchie.

## 2. Le devoir scolaire dans la legislation

Le devoir scolaire a été introduit le plus tôt en Prusse. Nous le trouvons déjà dans le decret royal de 1717; on l'a répété dans le Règlement Général pour les Ecoles de Campagne élaboré par le religieux pietiste Julius Hecker, publié le 12.VIII.1763. Le devoir scolaire a été étendu sur les enfants de 5 à 14 ans. On a prévu l'amende de 16 sous par enfant au cas où les parents ou les tuteurs negligeraient le devoir. L'amende ne levait pas l'obligation de remplir ce devoir. On l'a appliqué aussi aux enfants travaillant chez le seigneur. Les règlements ordonnaient aux propriétaires de faciliter aux enfants l'instruction élementaire. On a prévu aussi les moyens matériels pour cela. Pour permettre aux enfants de fréquenter l'école la loi ordonnait que la commune engage-ât un pâtre, ou bien que les enfants fassent paître le bétail alternativement, à tour de rôle. On a pensé aussi à l'enseignement des enfants qui demeuraient hors de l'école: on les obligeait à fréquenter les leçons de religion données par le curé, ainsi que les exercices de lecture et d'écriture. Le caractère confessionnel de la loi ne permettait pas de l'appliquer aux écoles sur les terrains habités par les catholiques. Une loi particulière pour ces écoles en Silésie a été élaborée par l'abbé des augustins à Żagań, Jean Ignace Felbiger, en 1765. La nouvelle loi concernait tous les enfants de 6 à 13 ans, sans égard au lieu d'habitation et au payment de la taxe. Par rapport à la loi précédente, la durée de l'éducation a été abregée de 2 ans. Le devoir scolaire est devenu plus rigoureux.[4] Les parents qui n'envoyaient pas leurs enfants à l'école étatent obligés de payer en amende le double du montant de la taxe, ou de travailler sans remunération deux jours pour chaque semaine où l'enfant ne fréquentait pas l'école. On a pensé aussi aux enfants travaillant chez leurs parents ou riches paysans. Ces enfants étaient obligés de suivre les leçons de dimanche. La où la corvée était encore en usage, on a défendu de faire travailler les enfants de moins de 13 ans. Les lois ultérieures, comme la Loi Générale d'Etat de 1794 étendaient le devoir scolaire sur les enfants de moins de 5 ans que leurs parents ne pouvaient pas éduquer à la maison. On n'a pourtant pas précisé l'âge où l'enfant était tenu de terminer l'école élementaire[57]. Dans les années suivantes on a attenué un peu certaines prescriptions. Ainsi, dans la loi de 1801 pour la Silesie on a décidé que l'absence de l'enfant à l'école est justifiée au cas de la maladie ou du départ. La jeunesse jusqu'à 16 ans était obligée de suivre les leçons de dimanche. On a étendu ce devoir aussi sur les apprentis. En constituant le devoir scolaire, on a pris soin de sa réalisation. Pour les parents pauvres on a réduit le montant de la taxe. Pour faciliter la fréquentation, on a précisé la distance entre l'école et le lieu d'habitation de l'enfant. Conformément à la loi de 1765, l'itinéraire de l'enfant à l'école ne pouvait pas surpasser 1/2 de lieue, et dans la montagne 1/4 de lieue. Le contrôle de la fréquentation devait être facilité par les listes d'enfants à l'âge scolaire, qu'étaient obligés de dresser les instituteurs et les propriétaires des maisons dans les villes. Ces listes apportaient des données suivantes: le nom et l'âge de l'enfant, le nom et la profession des parents ou des tuteurs. Elles devaient être déposées deux fois par l'an, deux semaines avant la St. Grégoire et deux semaines après la St. Michel, aux autorités municipales, qui les transmettaient plus tard aux curés locaux. Les lois prussiennes ont introduit certaines amenités dans la réalisation du devoir scolaire. Ainsi p. ex. la loi de 1765, prenant en considération les intérêts des propriétaires qui exploitaient le travail des enfants dans leurs biens, a limité le nombre des classes en été à 9 heures par semaine, pour la répétition de ce qu'on avait appris en hiver. Pour faciliter aux parents de profiter du travail de leurs enfants dans le ménage et à les faire paître le bétail, on a permis aux enfants de ne pas fréquenter l'école entre la St. Grégoire et la St. Michel, quand les travaux de champs étaient particulièrement intensifs. On les obligeait seulement à suivre les leçons de dimanche, à partie du premier dimanche après la St. Grégoire jusqu'au dimanche après la St, Michel, pour apprendre la religion et s'exercer dans la lecture et l'écriture. Ces occupations étaient obligatoires pour la jeunesse avant la 20-e année de la vie. La loi de 1794 permettait aussi aux parents riches d'engager les instituteurs privés qui enseignaient les enfants à la maison. La loi de 1765 permettait dans les cas justifiés, d'abréger la durée du devoir scolaire. Cela concernait les enfants avant la 13-e année qui avaient l'intention de fréquenter plus tard l'école secondaire. La condition en était un examen passé devant l'évêque ou l'inspecteur scolaire et un certificat attestant qu'ils étaient capables d'écrire, calligraphiquement et sans fautes, une lettre, que les enfants connaissaient quatre opérations arithmetiques et les fractions, et savaient appliquer la règle de trois. Cet examen était également obligatoire pour les enfants éduqués à la maison. Les enfants de campagne aussi pouvaient être dispensés de fréquenter l'école avant 13 ans dans le cas où ils avaient appris le programme prévu et obtenu le certificat de l'évêque ou de l'inspecteur[67]. Il faut souligner que les lois prusiennes, surtout celle de 1765, étaient des modèles pour des actes legislatifs semblables. Les traits en sont visibles dans l'Instruction Générale pour les Ecoles publiée en 1774. Ce n'est pas étonnant, si l'on prend en considération que celle-ci était l'oeuvre du même auteur.

En Autriche, le devoir scolaire concernait les enfants de 6 à 12 ans. On pouvait en être dispensé plus tôt après avoir rempli les conditions citées ci-dessus. On a renforcé les peines prévues dans le cas de la désobeissance, jusqu'à l'arrestation inclusivement. Par égard aux intérêts des propriétaires on a introduit l'interruption de trois semaines au temps de moissons. Dans ce temps l'école pouvait être fréquentée par les enfants de 6 à 8 ans pour lesquels le chemin était trop difficile en hiver. Mais leurs parents devaient présenter cette intention à l'instituteur. Comme dans la loi de 1765, on a consacré beaucoup d'attention aux conditions du travail à l'école, pour faciliter l'accomplissement du devoir scolaire. L'école devait être logée dans un batiment à part, de deux pièces au minimum, pour l'enseignement des enfants et l'habitation de l'instituteur. Les locaux devaient être clairs et spacieux, possédant des bancs nécéssaires, un tableau noir, une table et une chaise pour le maître, et une armoire pour garder les objets de démonstation. La loi autrichienne de 1774 restait en vigueur - avec de petites modifications introduites en 1805 - jusqu'au 1869[77].

Le devoir scolaire a été introduit le plus tard en Pologne. L'instruction pour les écoles paroissiales de 1774 obligeait les enfants de commencer l'éducation primaire à 4 ou 5 ans et de la finir à 18 ans, quand ils seraient capables de servir leur patrie. On prenait aussi en considération le travail des enfants dans le mènage. Les lois de la KEN de 1783 laissaient `a l'instituteur, en accord avec le curé, le soin de préciser la durée de l'année scolaire. Mais d'après elles, la meilleure période pour l'enseignement était l'hiver, entre la St. Michel et la St. Adalbert. L'enseignement dans cette période devait durer tous les jours de la semaine. En été les enfants étaient obligés de suivre les leçons de dimanche, pour répéter le matériel appris en hiver. Mais l'absence aux leçons n'était pas punie. Le mérite d'avoir introduit le devoir scolaire tombe à l'héritière de la KEN, la Chambre de l'Education dans le Duché de Varsovie. Le règlement pour les Ecoles Elementaires Urbaines et Rurales, publié par celle-ci le 16.X.1808 étendait le devoir scolaire sur tous les enfants des deux sexes, sans discernement de confession et d'origine sociale. Dans la loi polonaise l'âge scolaire des enfants dépend seulment du lieu d'habitation. Le devoir concerne les enfants à partir 6 ans dans les villes, et 8 ans à la campagne. On n'a pas prècisé l' âge obligatoire de l'achèvement de l'éducation. Cette decision a été laissée à la surveillance scolaire. Elle devait être prise, comme l'exprimait l'article de la loi en question, quand l'enfant a conquis les informations utiles dans sa situation sociale - d'habitude entre la 11-e et la 12-e année. En comparaison avec les états voisins, la Prusse et Autriche, la durée du devoir scolaire en Pologne a été réduite à 5-6 ans dans les villes et 3-4 ans à la campagne[67]. On a pensé aussi aux moyens de faciliter aux enfants l'accomplissement de leur devoir. Dans ce but, on a postulé d'engager un pâtre communal, pour que les enfants ne perdent pas le temps destiné à l'enseignement en faisant paître le bétail. Au devoir scolaire ont été exempts les enfants qui devraient fréquenter plus tard le lycée. Autrement que dans les autres états, l'obligation de dresser les listes d'enfants à l'âge scolaire entrait dans les compétences des maitres d'école. C'est eux aussi qui devaient s'occuper des conditions conven-ables du travail. Les membres de la surveillance scolaire étaient, à la campagne, le seigneur ou le curé qui le remplaçait /pasteur, s'il y avait dans le village une église protestante/, le maire du village et un ou deux paysans.

Un des élements essentiels de la réalisation du devoir scolaire était l'entretien de l'école. Tous les états dont il a été question laissaient ce fardeau à la société. En Prusse et en Autriche la base de l'entretien de l'instituteur était la taxe scolaire payée par les parents. Il n'y avait de réduction que pour les pauvres, pour lesquels on réduisait la taxe de moitié, En Prusse selon la loi de 1763 les taxes dépendaient des matières enseignées actuellement à l'enfant. Pour l'enfant apprenant à lire les parents payaient 6 pfenigs, pour celui apprenant à écrire - 9 pfenigs, et pour celui apprenant à calculer - 10 pfennigs par semaine. Ces taxes étaient obligatoires en hiver où les leçons étaient données en pleine mesure du temps. En été, à cause du nombre limité des leçons /9 heures/ on a réduit la taxe pour chaque groupe d'enfants de 1/3. Dans la loi polonaise on a obligé tous les habitants, sans différence de l'état civil, à contribuer a à l'entretien de l'école. Le montant de la taxe dépendait du dégrès de la richesse. Les habitants ont été divisés en groupes par rapport à ce qu'ils possédaient. Dans les villes la taxe était de 2,5 à 8 zlotys, dans les villages de 1,5 `a 6 zlotys par an, en versements trimestrielles[9].

Malgré la proclamation des lois et des règlements la réalisation du devoir scolaire laissait beaucoup à desirer. Une des causes principales de la faible fréquentation, surtout à la campagne, étaient les relations sociales. La population pauvre n'était pas toujours en mesure de payer les taxes scolaires. Elle n'appréciait pas non plus l'éducation, parce que l'achèvement de l'école primaire n'assurait pas un avancement social. À côté de cela, une des causes était la desapprobation de la part de la noblesse, par la crainte de perdre le travail à bon marché des enfants travaillant avec leurs parents. Le devoir scolaire était donc observé dans les villes mieux qu'à la campagne. La pauvreté de la population en était une des grandes causes. Les enfants n'avaient pas toujours les vêtements et les chaussures convenables. La fréquentation était particulièrement basse aux temps des travaux de champs: les écoles, peu nombreuses, restaient alors complètement vides. La fréquentation des filles surtout laissait beaucoup à desirer, demeurant longtemps beaucoup plus basse que celle des garçons. Il faut pourtant constater que l'introduction du devoir scolaire et son execution administrative a contribué, a un certain degré, à augmenter la fréquentation dans les petites villes et villages. Cela a été plus tard renforcé par le changement des conditions sociales et par la comprehension, de la part des parents, du besoin d'instruire les enfants, de même que par le développement du réseau des écoles et les meilleures conditions du travail des maitres et des éléves.

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# RESUME

Les débuts de l'introduction du devoir scolaire datent du Siècle des Lumières. Leurs facteurs étaient économiques et politiques. Les états absolus voulant employer les grandes masses de la population dans le travail de l'enrichissement du pays et renforcer l'idéologie commune étaient obligés d'introduire le devoir scolaire. La pratique antérieure - la direction de l'école par l'Eglise - ne garantissait pas à l'état la réalisation de ses buts. Le trait caracteristique des réformes faites en Pologne était la formation à l'école de bons citoyens et patriotes conscients de leur devoir.

Le devoir scolaire a été introduit le plus tôt en Prusse, où déjà en 1763 on a publié la loi pour les écoles de campagne, étendant le devoir sur tous les enfants de 5 à 14 ans. La desobeissance à cette loi était punie par les amendes. Les lois ultérieures maintenaient le devoir et renforçaient les peines pour la désobaissance. La loi de 1763 la punissait du travail forcé non remunéré, dans les biens publiques ou privés, et par l'arrestation au pain et à l'eau. En Autriche le devoir scolaire a été introduit en 1774, et en Pologne en 1808. Dans cette dernière, il concernait les enfants de 6 à 13 ans, et dans le Duché de Varsovie de 6 ans /en ville/ et de 8 ans /à la campagne/, jusqu'à respectivement 11 ou 12 ans. Toutes les lois assuraient les moyens pour la réalisation du devoir scolaire. On postulait l'engagement du pâtre pour decharger les enfants de la tâche de faire paître le bétail, on s'occupait du local et de l'entretien de l'école, on introduisait la réduction des taxes pour les enfants pauvres. L'état ne subventionnait pas les écoles populaires. Seul, l'état prussien dans la constitution de 1794 s'engageait à couvrir le 1/3 des dépenses. En Autriche, des fonds d'état au subventionnait les écoles principales - écoles dans les villes, mieux organisées. Toutes les lois introduisaient les amenités dans la réalisation de devoir scolairesallant dans le sens des intérêts des propriétaires ruraux. Les occupations scolaires au cours de l'année étaient synchronisées avec les travaux de champs. Les leçons pour la plupart avaient lieu en hiver. Les vacances étatent prevues pour le temps de moissons. Beaucoup de difficultés dans la réalisation du devoir scolaire provenaient du nombre trop petit de maîtres d'école préparés à leur tâche. Les causes principales de la fréquentation faible dans les écoles populaires étaient la pauvreté de la population, le réseau scolaire insuffisant et l'incomprehension, de la part des parents, du besoin d'enseigner les enfants dans la population pauvre des villages et petites villes.

Il faut constater pourtant que l'introduction du devoir scolaire et son exécution administrative ont contribué à élever la fréquentation dans les écoles populaires.

# Bollettino

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# LEGAL FOUNDATION AND ACCOMPLISHMENT OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN POLAND IN 1918-1939

Józef Zerko
Romuald Grzybowski

After regaining independence in November 1918 the firststeps were taken towards unifying the organizational schema and curriculum of educational system, as well as towards working out new regulations, curricula and coursebooks. The changes were first signalled by the declaration of the government dated November, 20th which read: „One of the most crucial tasks is considered to be offering lay and free education equally available for all independently of their financial position. We are dedicated to the resolution that only abilities should control the priviledge of gaining knowledge"[1].

Basic educational conceptions were worked out by the socalled „Teachers` Seym" which was held in Warsaw in April, 1919. The assembly agreed that compulsory education should include a 7-grade school being public, compulsory, fee-free and uniform for the whole society. The resolution led to overcoming obstacles prohibiting less abled children / and literally speaking for the poorer ones/ from continuing their education. In consequence it led to intoducing 8-grade gimnasium accepting graduates of the 4th grade of elementary school, thus initiating the first selection already at the age of 10-11. The assembly accepted resolution which said that the lowest organized school can be localized in two rooms and empoy 1 2 teachers. The principle was supposed to prevent great discrepancies in teaching level between the city and the country[2].

Thus in the presented idea educational system was uniform, and access to particular levels of schooling was dependent exclusively on the abilities and interests of the children,not on their origin or financial status of their parents.

Those democratic and progressive ideas were shared by numerous educationalists. Yet, they could not always be realized in practice either because the Seym did not pass appropriate legal acts, or because of political situation making realization of the postulates impossible.

As far as compulsory education is concerned a crucial resolution was a decree, which was passed by the State Leader on February, 7th, 1919 [3]. Articles 1 and 9 state that elementary education was compulsory for all children from 7 to 14. The possibility of opening a school was conditioned by the number of children within a school region with a minimum of 40 pupils in three succeeding grades, and on the other hand by the estimated distance between school and home not greater than 3 kilometres[4].

Articles 8 to 11 thoroughly dealt with the question of age and hence appropriate organization of particular units. Here it was pointed out that compulsory education comprised 7 years of training. Wherever such schooling units were not available there could be accepted lower organized schools having 4 or 5 grades. Such a statement meant that compulsory education could be completed in state and private schools, as well as at home. In that case progress would be controlled by educational authorities or by the so-called „school supervisory bodies[5].

The decree also states / art. 40-44 / types of penalty for parents restraining compulsory education resolutions, to mention, among others, fine or arrest for holding their children back from enrollment or for keeping the children home from school without sensible reasons.

It was characteristic that the decree applied to „... this part of the Polish State which had previously belonged to the Russian section"[6]. In consequence it meant, that thowgh not abolishing previous regulations the decree tolerated compulsory education lasting 8 or 6 years in other parts of the country[7].

Resolutions applying to compulsory education were also included in the Constitution of the Polish Republic dated March, 17th, 1921. That legal act guaranteed public elementary education in state and community schools, all fee-free: „Elementary education is compulsory for all citizens of our Country"[8].

Detailed explanation of the regulation was presented in the act issued on February, 17th, 1922 entitled: „On Establishing and Maintaining Public Elementary Schools". The duty of opening and running the units was assigned to the state and local authorities[9]. We must add that organizational level of particular schools was still dependent on the child's way school and the number of pupils enrolled in three succeeding grades. The minimum number of children conditioning calling being a schooling unit was 40-60 pupils; the maximum number for a 7-grade school was 650 pupils / see table 1/. Although the decision to correlate organizational complexity of school and the number of children within a given region was of unquestionable significance, it turned out very unfavourable for rural areas. Dispersion of population being high, schools had to consist merely of two classes. In such units teachers had to work with groups representing different levels of advancement on a 4-5 grade scale. The most difficult situation developed in the ex-Russian section with as 86 % schools having only one class, and in Galicia having 53,4 % such units.

Despite the lack of unidimensional and consequent compulsory educational policy, the country noted significant progress in popularization of education. The changes can be traced comparing data referring to two school years: 1921/22 and 1925/26. During the first of the two years 69 % children complied with compulsory education duty, whereas in the other mentioned - already 90,3 % children[10].

Parallelly to the act mentioned above, the Seym accepted „The Act on Erecting Public Elementary Schools". For the following several years the act created favourable conditions for completing school investments[11]. According to that act the community was made responsible for offering proper school buildings and, moreover, to supply accomodation for teachers, land for other kinds of buildings for the school, for the schoolyard, school-garden. The community was also obliged to supply schools with fuel and lignt. The costs of such undertakings were shared in half by the State and the community. There also existed possibility of being guaranteed long-term loans from the state budget to cover the remaining costs[12].

Critical look upon effectiveness of the two above mentioned law acts shows that they significantly contributed to increasing density of the net of the so-far neglected schooling units. However, it is to be regreted that most new schools were opened according to the lowest organizational level, and that the State withdrew, from their financial obligations in sharing half of the costs of investments. The government made that decision already in 1925 with demographic explosion to undergo compulsory education only in the next three years. That is why in 1928 134 thousand children were left out of educational system. In the course of following years the number still increased particularly in rural areas, where teaching was carried out in combined level classes. Low effectivity of these units resulted in the fact that in the twenties 50 % or even 80 % children learning in one or two-class schools were not promoted to a higher grade.

We should also add, that all previous legal acts had not fully led to standardizing the question of age or the duration of compulsory education within the whole country. They did not uniform organizational system of schools of particular levels of advancement, while propositions of reforms put forward in 1919-1927 were not accepted by the Seym. All these disadvantages gave grounds to abandon the structure of education existing from 1922. The withdrawal was officially stated in the act „On the Structure of Education" issued on March, 11th, 1932 /chart 1, 2 /[13].

The act, called Jędrzejewicz's, introduced changes into organization of educational system despite the fact, that article 14 said: „Public compulsory education will be organized so that the citizens have the opportunity to have their children educated at the highest level possible". Practically the considered act confirmed the existence of as many as three organizational levels of elementary schools. Thus, the resulting structure was based on diversity. The lack of uniformity which in itself stayed in conflict with the idea of democratie access to education, was the greatest shortcoming of the act in question. It caused that many country schools had their organizational level lowered to the basic, and in this way many children were deprived of the possibility to pass to higher stages of schooling.

In statistical data the situation is described as follows: in 1927/28 -31 % children learned in 7-grade schools; in 1937/38 - 45,4 %. At the same time in the country 73 % of educational units consisted of schools of the lowest level / the I level /[14].

Article 6 of the act in question says, that education is compulsory for 7 years. However, the Minister of Religion and Education can expand it to 8 years, or reduce to 6 years on the organizational basis,e.g. when the distance from school to be covered by a child is greater than 4 km, or when a child is found to be phisically or mentally retarded[15].

Organic whole with the act constituted „The Statutes of 7-Grade Public Elementary Schools" issued on November, 21st, 1933[16]. In the introductory part of the document we read that „knowledge acquired at this school should allow any properly abled youth to pass to any other school representing immediatelly higher level of advancement without special preparations"[17]. Moreover, education was compulsory, fee-free. Organizational pattern of schools of that level was dependent on the number of children within their regions /table 2 /.

The closing part of the Statutes /items 74-80/ deal with

accepting children to school and the question of their moving from and to a higher or lower organized schools. Clause 77 puts the matter quite expicitely stating that „Passing from level I to level II and III, as well as passing from level II to level III is based on certificates, not entrance examinations.
1. From level I : a/ after finishing grades I,II,III to grades II,III,IV of schools of levels II and III;
b/ after completing at least one year of IVth grade to grade V of schools of II and III levels"[18].

However in practice graduating from a 7-grade school of level I did not offer any chance for children in rural areas, as such schools worked merely on „general education" curricula leaving out all that was introduced additionally in the two other types of schools[19].

It was due just to the fact that the country was dominated by schools of level I that children coming from such areas were almost completely deprived of access to high schools. Thus elementary education system turned out nearly noneffective. In 1937 it was found out that the total number of elementary school graduates was 262,7 thousand, that is 34 % children at the age 13-14, whereas at the same time 7-grade schools had only 127 thousand graduates, which meant merely 16,5 % of the total at the age of 13-14. Compared to these data the number of 36 thousand graduates in the country is highly symptomatical if we take into account that it was a period of demographical explosion which enrolled additionally about 1 800 thousand pupils more than in the year 1928/29. At the same time the number of posts for teachers increased from 63 to 67 thousand[20].

Hence, compulsory education became significantly less widespread during the years 1928-1935. The drop was from 96 % to 88,3 %, which in raw figures meant, that about one million children were left out of compulsory education system. The phenomenon resulted from unfavourable economic situation of the state. Funds for educational investments were reduced 26 times comparing the years 1928/29 and 1935/36. Nominal expenditure decreased by 50 million zloties, and real counted per child -

by 56 %.

In consequence in the year 1935/36 the number of pupils elementary and secondary schools coming from paesantry and working class was particularly small /table 3/. Data presented in Table 3 clearly illustrate the great step back that act of 1932 made in practical accomplishment of the idea of equal access to education for all children.

Conclusions:

- With all deficiencies of educational system of the times basic assumptions of the idea of democratic education were uprooted in the society as unquestionable rules. The society widely accepted the idea that education should be accessable for everyone, that elementary education should have the same range for all children, that any sort of specialization should be introduced as late as possible. For this reason an event of great importance was victory over advocates of 8-year gimnasium,and establishing a two-stage high school beginning with the 7th grade of primary school. The decision was taken in 1932. Introduction of this change meant that the first selection among children would apply to 13-year-olds not to children two years younger, as it had been previously;
- In the pre-war period Poland managed to create a democratic educational system, though in practice it was accomplished with great difficulties. The assumption of uniformity was violated by the act of 1932 which introduced different organizational levels: 4,6,7-grade schools with the same 7 year duration of learning. General education reached wider range of society than ever before. Educational ideas evoked tendency to introduce further positive changes among the society. Their activity in the field can be traced back particularly in cities and is manifested e.g. by strict realization of compulsory educationduty;
- Rural areas, so far controlled by traditional authority of the priest, the chief officer and the landlord was now influenced by one more person of authority - the teacher who became an extremely active partner in cultural and educational life

of the community;

- It is worth mentioning that social role of school was not limited by governmental directives, but to a great extent depended on the aczivity of the teacher himself and on the Polish Teachers' Union. Even if school of the times was and has been criticized, it would be extremely difficult to imagine overcoming illiteracy and backwardness of society in general without it. School contributed to radicalization of social tendencies, working out progressive ideas, which later became fruitful in the Polish People's Republic.

Table 1 Organizational structure of schools according to the act of 1922

| Organizational level of school | the number of: | |
|---|---|---|
| | teachers | pupils |
| one class | 1 | 40 - 60 |
| two classes | 2 | 61 - 100 |
| three classes | 3 | 101 - 150 |
| four classes | 4 | 151 - 200 |
| five classes | 5 | 201 - 250 |
| six classes | 6 | 251 - 300 |
| seven classes | 7 and more | 301 - 650 |

Source: Official Gazette PR q1922,No 18,it. 143.

Table 2 Structure of elementary school according to act of 1932

| Level | the number of: | | duration learning in years | grades | duration of learning in grades | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | pupils | teachers | | | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII |
| I | up to 60 | 1 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | - | - | - |
| | 61 - 120 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | - | - | - |
| II | 121 - 160 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | - |
| | 161 - 210 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | - |
| III | 211 - 260 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | 261 - 310 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | more | 7 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Source: Official Gazette PR 1932,No 38, it. 389 and Official Gazette of the Ministry of Religion and Education 1933, No 14, it. 194.

Table 3

Social background of pupils in the school year 1935/36 / in percent/

| social origin | elementary school |  | gimnasium |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | grade I | grade II | grade I |
| working class | 23,3 | 26,3 | 7,7 |
| paesantry | 57,5 | 30,8 | 7,7 |
| minor businessmen | 8,6 | 17,6 | 16,9 |
| clerks | 2,4 | 7,9 | 34,4 |
| other owners | 8,0 | 17,4 | 33,3 |

Source:A.Świecki, 25 lat oświaty i szkolnictwa w Polsce Ludowej,Warsaw 1969, p.27.

Notes and References:

1. Ruch Pedagogiczny 1969,No 1, p.74.
2. K.Trzebiatowski,Organizacja szkolnictwa w Polsce Ludowej, Warsaw 1972, p. 18-20. Propositions of the Teachers’Seym were so radical and far-reaching, that some of them could be realized in practice only in the Polish People′s Republic.
3. Official Gazette of the Ministry of Religion and Education, 1919, No 2, it. 2.
4. ibid.,art. 1,3,4 of the decree.
5. ibid.,art.28 and 29.
6. ibid.,art.48.
7. Compulsory education scheme in High Silesia and Cieszyn Silesia was not altered up to the world war II.In Galicia it comprised 6 years,in towns - 7 years.
8. Official Gazette PR 1921,No 44,it.267. The contents of that article remained unchanged in the Constitucion of April, 23rd, 1935.
9.Official Gazette PR 1922,No 18, it. 143
10.In the year 1923/24 compulsory education for 7-year-olds was introduced in the regions of Warsaw,Łódź,Białystok.
11.Official Gazette PR 1922,No 18,it. 144.
12.ibid., art.1 and 10.
13.Official Gazette PR 1932,No 38,it. 389.

14.A.Świecki,25 lat oświaty i szkolnictwa w Polsce Ludowej, Warsaw 1969,p, 24.

15.Official Gazette PR 1932, No 38, it. 389,art.6,p.2 and 3, art. 7.

16.Official Gazette of the Ministry of Religion and Education 1933,No 14,it. 194.

17.ibid., cl.1.

18.ibid., cl.91.

19.ibid., cl.32 - 37.

20.A.Świecki,25 lat oświaty i szkolnictwa w Polsce Ludowej, Warsaw 1969,p,25.

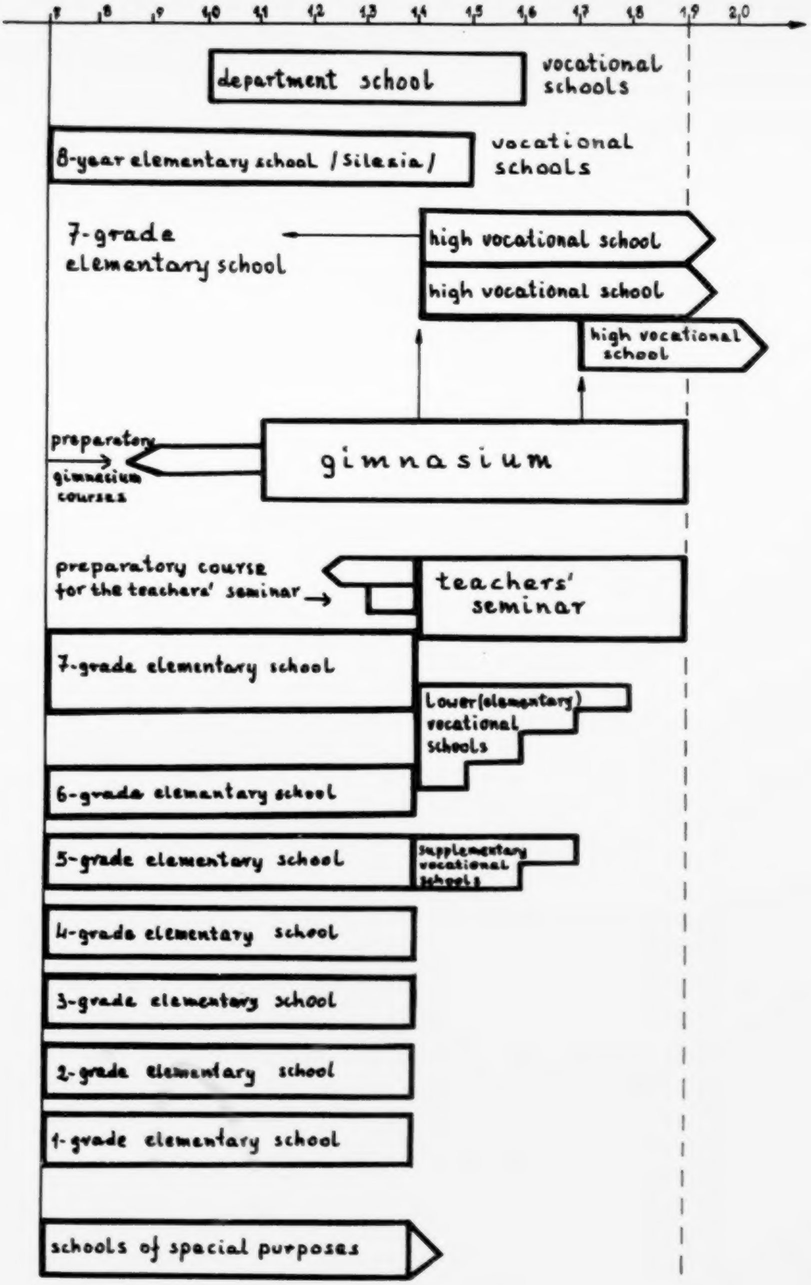
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
department school
vocational schools
8-year elementary school /Silezia/
vocational schools
7-grade elementary school
high vocational school
high vocational school
high vocational school
preparatory gimnasium courses
gimnasium
preparatory course for the teachers' seminar
teachers' seminar
7-grade elementary school
Lower (elementary) vocational schools
6-grade elementary school
5-grade elementary school
supplementary vocational schools
4-grade elementary school
3-grade elementary school
2-grade elementary school
1-grade elementary school
schools of spacial purposes

Diagram 1. Educational system in Poland 1922

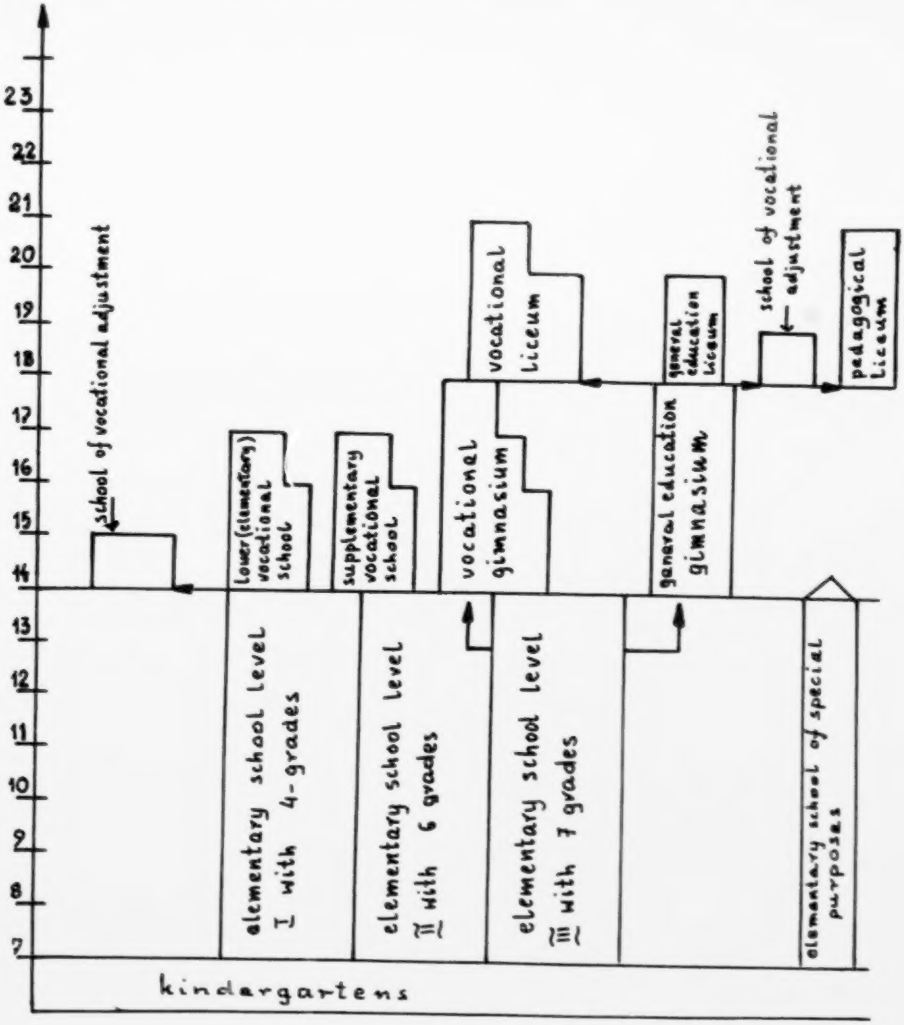
23
22
21
20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
school of vocational adjustment
Lower (elementary) vocational school
supplementary vocational school
vocational gimnasium
vocational liceum
general education gimnasium
general education liceum
school of vocational adjustment
pedagogical liceum
elementary school level I with 4-grades
elementary school level II with 6 grades
elementary school level III with 7 grades
elementary school of special purposes
kindargartens

Diagram 2. Educational system in Poland 1932-1939

# L'INTRODUCTION ET LA PROLONGATION DE LA SCOLARITE OBLIGATOIRE AU PORTUGAL

## Joaquim Ferreira Gomes

"Droit à l'éducation" et "scolarité obligatoire" se ressemblent aux deux faces d'une même monnaie. Ce sont, donc, deux réalités juridiques qui, en chaque pays, sont apparues presque à la même époque, toutes les deux en liaison étroite avec le Libéralisme.

Lorsque, dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle, le Marquis de Pombal a posé les fondements du système éducatif portugais, il a pris soin de dire explicitement que ce système d'enseignement ne s'adressait pas à *tous* les citoyens: il ne s'adressait pas nommément — comme on lit dans la Loi du 6 Novembre 1772 — à ceux qui "*sont nécessairement employés dans les services agricoles et dans les arts manufacturières*".

Comme il est évident, ne reconnaissant pas à *tous* le "*droit*" à l'enseignement, le Marquis serait intièrement incohérent s'il décrétait la "*scolarité obligatoire*".

La scolarité obligatoire est une conséquence du Libéralisme. Pour que l'on puisse avoir une idée du moment où elle a été introduite au Portugal et des vicissitudes par les quelles elle a passée, nous allons parcourir la législation scolaire portugaise depuis la Révolution Libérale de 1820 jusqu'à nos jours. Pour que notre exposé soit moins touffu, nous le diviserons en quatre parties, correspondantes aux quatre grandes périodes qu'il est d'usage distinguer dans l'histoire contemporaine du Portugal, bien que nous ayons conscience que, en ce qui concerne le sujet dont nous nous occupons, tout au long des dernières 165 années, il n'a pas eu de ruptures significatives, mais plutot une persistante continuité.

### 1. - Pendant la Monarchie Constitutionnelle (1820-1910)

La *Constitution Politique* de 1822, bien qu'elle prescrit la création d'écoles pour enseigner la jeunesse portugaise des deux sexes à lire, écrire et compter et le catéchisme des devoire réligieux et civils, ne place pas encore l'éducation ou l'enseignement parmi les droit des portugais et, par cela, ne parle pas de scolarité obligatoire.

La *Charte Constitutionnelle*, octroyée en 1826, place déjà l'instruction primaire et gratuite parmi les droits civils et politiques. Donc, la législation scolaire qui lui est postérieure s'occupe du *devoir* ou de *l'obligation* d'aller à l'école. Ainsi se vérifie avec les réformes de l'enseignement primaire de 1835, 1836, 1844, 1870, 1878, 1894, 1896, 1897 et 1901.

Dans la réforme de 1844, l'instruction primaire a été échelonnée en deux degrés, élémentaire et complémentaire, seul le degré élémentaire étant obligatoire. Ce n'est que dans la réforme de 1896, que l'on détermine que le degré élémentaire est composé de trois classes, avec la durée d'une année scolaire chacune.

Les lois qui ont promulgué les réformes de l'instruction primaire soulignent la scolarité obligatoire, en prescrivant des pénalités et même des amendes aux parents et chargés d'éducation qui n'envoyaient pas leurs enfants à l'école. Ces lois renfermaient, cependant, beaucoup d'exceptions, comme, par exemple, si l'école était éloignée de plus de trois Kilomètres et si les parents ou chargés d'éducation étaient très pauvres. Par cette raison et par d'autres raisons encore, les lois n'étaient pas observées. À la fin de la Monarchie Constitutionnelle (1910), le nombre des analphabètes au Portugal était d'environ 70% de la population.

## 2. - Pendant la Ie République (1910-1926)

Une fois proclamée la République en Octobre de 1910, les responsables du nouveau régime se sont occupés tout de suite de la réforme du système éducatif, à tous ses niveaux. Un Décret du 29 Mars 1911 réforme l'enseignement primaire qui comprendrait trois degrés: élémentaire, complémentaire et supérieur. L'enseignement primaire élémentaire, avec la durée de 3 ans, serait obligatoire pour les enfants des deux sexes. Aussi la *Constitution Politique de la République Portuguaise*, promulguée le 21 Août 1911, déterminait que l'enseignement primaire élémentaire serait obligatoire et gratuit.

En 1919, un Ministre de l'Instruction Publique qui était aussi un grand philosophe, Leonardo Coimbra, décréta une réforme de l'enseignement primaire qui serait échelonné en infantils, primaire général et primaire supérieur. L'enseignement primaire général comprendrait cinq classes ou années scolaires et serait obligatoire. Cette réforme n'a jamais été mise en exécution. Même la scolarité obligatoire de 3 ans n'a pas été accomplie. Il suffit de dire que, à la fin de la Ie. République (1926), le pourcentage d'analphabètes était d'environ 61%.

## 3. - Pendant l'État Nouveau (1926-1974).

Du point de vue de l'enseignement, le Mouvement du 28 Mai 1926, au moins dans ses premières années, ne représente pas une rupture avec la Ie. République, comme, dans ce domaine, la Ie. République ne représente pas une rupture substantielle contre la Monarchie Constitutionnelle, exception faite de la philosophie laiciste qui informait les lois républicainnes.

La réforme du 17 Mai 1927 échelonne l'enseignement primaire en infantile, élémentaire, et complementaire étant obligatoire l'enseignement élémentaire, avec la durée de 3 ans. Une réforme du 22 Mars 1930 divise l'enseignement primaire en deux degrés, constituant scolarité obligatoire l'examen du premier degré, c'est-à-dire, l'examen que l'on faisait après avoir suivi les trois premières années scolaires.

La *Constitution* de 1933 détermine que l'enseignement primaire élémentaire est obligatoire, mais elle ne parle pas de la gratuité de l'enseignement obligatoire, ce qui est dû, peut-être, à la philosophie qui lui est sousjacente, nommément en ce qui concerne le rôle de la famille dans l'éducation.

Depuis 1936 (année où ont été renfermées les Écoles Normales Primaires) et pendant quelques années, il y a eu une insistance presque maladive, de la part du Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, sur le fait que savoir lire, écrire et compter était suffisant pour la plus grande partie des portugais. Il y a eu, donc, une tendance (jamais intièrement accomplie) à réduire l'enseignement primaire à trois ans de scolarité. C'est ce qu'on lit dans un Décret du 27 Mai 1937 qui règle l'examen de la 3e. classe: "Logiquement, l'examen de la 4e. classe se disparait du champ d'action de l'enseignement primaire, paraitrant même indiqué qu'il soit définitivement remplacé par l'examen d'admission à un enseignement ultérieur". C'est dans cet ésprit que la Loi nº 1969, du 20 Mai 1938, a été élaborée.

Il faut rappeler que, au début des années quarente, pour commémorer le 8e. Centenaire de la formation du Portugal et le 3e. Centenaire de son indépendance par rapport à la domination espagnolle, le Gouvernement a élaboré un Plan général pour la construction d'écoles primaires, nomé "Plan des Centenaires", qui prévoiait la construction de 12 500 salles de classe dans une pério de de dix ans — de 1941-42 à 1951. Le Plan ne serait intégralement exécute qu'un peu plus tard. Au moment où ce Plan a été élaboré, le Portugal comptait encore à peu près 49% d'analphabètes.

En outre, au début des années quarente, ont été créées ou réouvertes 14 Écoles Normales Primaires.

Avec des bâtiments nouveaux et avec les instituteurs qui venaient de ces Écoles Normales, on pouvait donner un élan nouveau à l'instruction primaire. Ce nouveau essor a son début avec un Décret-Loi du 27 Octobre 1952 qui signale une date dans l'histoire de l'instruction populaire au Portugal, en instituant le Plan d'Éducation Populaire.

Le Plan d'Éducation Populaire a consisté fondamentalement dans une lutte contre l'analphabétisme concrétisée surtout dans le renfort de la scolarité obligatoire et dans la mise en action d'une Campagne Nationale d'Éducation d'Adultes.

Le premier but du Plan d'Éducation Populaire était de rendre exécutable le principe de l'obligation scolaire. Cette obligation n'a pas été élargie alors jusqu'à la 4e. classe: étant donné que l'on n'avait pas réussi, jusqu'alors, à accomplir, en toute son ampleur, le principe de l'obligation scolaire de l'enseignement élémentaire (3e. classe), il ne serait pas raisonnable de créer, à ce moment-là, de nouvelles responsabilités dans ce domaine. Cependant, les instituteurs étaient incités à convaincre les parents de l'intérêt d'immatriculer leurs enfants dans la 4e. classe.

En ordre à renforcer le principe de l'obligation scolaire, quelques dispositions légales ont été prises. J'en souligne les suivantes:

- les parents des enfants de 7 à 13 ans qui n'aient pas fréquenté l'école primaire ou qui n'aient pas fait l'examen de l'enseignement primaire élémentaire (3e. classe) ne recevront pas les allocations familiales;
- les individus ou entités qui admisent, pendant les temps scolaires, en des salles de spectacles ou en d'autres lieux de divertissement et aussi ceux qui, pendant ces temps, emploient à leur service des enfants mineurs obligés à suivre les cours scolaires encourent dans une lourde amende pecuniaire;
- les agents de l'autorité qui trouvent dans un lieu publique, pendant les temps scolaires et sans raison justifiée, un enfant mi-

neur obligé à suivre des cours scolaires devront le reconduire jusqu'à son école ou jusqu'à l'école officielle plus prochaine;

- à partir du 1er Janvier 1955, il serait défendu aux autorités patronalles du commerce et de l'industrie d'admettre à leur service, dans les cadres permanents, des mineurs de 18 ans qui n'aient pas fait l'examen de l'enseignement primaire élémentaire (3e classe);
- l'admission en certaines professions ou l'accès à certaines classes ou catégories professionnelles pourraient être défendus à tous ceux qui ne possédaient pas la 3e ou la 4e classe de l'enseignement primaire;
- il serait défendu d'admettre dans les services de l'État et des organisations para-étatales des individus sans la 3e classe. Pour l'admission ou pour l'accès à des postes de ces mêmes services de catégorie un peu plus élevée, il serait éxigé l'examen de la 4e classe;
- à partir du 1er Janvier 1954, ne pourraient pas être admis à l'examen pour les conducteurs de véhicules automobiles les individus qui ne possédaient pas l'examen de la 3e classe;
- à partir du 1er Janvier 1955, on ne pourrait pas délivrer le permis d'émigration à des individus de plus de 14 ans et de moins de 35 ans qui ne possédaient pas l'examen de la 3e classe;
- à partir de 1954, les jeunes incorporés dans les forces armées ne pourraient pas passer à la disponibilité sans l'habilitation de la 3e classe.

Le Plan d'Éducation Populaire a donné des résultats très appréciables, non seulement dans la diffusion de l'enseignement primaire parmi les enfants en âge scolaire, mais aussi, à la faveur de la Campagne Nationale d'Éducation d'Adultes, parmi les adolescents et les adultes.

Un Décret-Loi du 31 Décembre 1956 élargi l'obligation scolaire jusqu'à la 4e classe pour tous les mineurs du sexe masculin. Dans le Préambule de ce Décret-Loi, on lit: en 1955, "seulement environ 1% des enfants normaux en âge scolaire ne fréquentaient pas l'école primaire. Si l'on prend compte des circonstances dificilement éliminables qui, dans certains cas, rendent impossible l'accomplissement de l'obligation scolaire, nous devrons considérer le pourcentage de 1 pratiquement irréductible. Cela veut dire que, dans les présentes conditions géographiques et sociales, le problème de l'analphabétisme est résolu par rapport aux mineures en âge scolaire".

Le Décret-Loi que nous venons de citer élargi pour 4 ans l'obligation scolaire pour tous les mineurs du sexe masculin. Afin que cette obligation soit accomplie, le Décret-Loi établi:

— les entités patronales du commerce, de l'industrie et de l'agriculture, avec une capacité économique suffisante, qui auraient à leur service des salariés chargés d'éducation de mineurs en âge scolaire étaient obligées-quand il n'y aurait pas d'enseignement primaire gratuit dans une aire de 3 à 4 kilomètres - de faculter à ces mineurs l'enseignement jusqu'à l'approbation dans l'examen de la 4.e classe, ou bien ces entités patronales étaient obligées de leur assurer tous les jours le transport qui leur permetait de suivre leurs cours à l'école plus proche ou à l'école dont l'accès serait le plus facile;

— les chargés d'éducation qui, habitant loin de tout établissement d'enseignement primaire officiel ou privé, étaient empêchés d'envoyer à l'école les mineurs soumis aux lois de l'obligation scolaire seraient obligés à assurer l'enseignement à ces mineurs, s'ils possédaient la préparation culturelle pour les enseigner ou la capacité économique pour supporter les charges de l'enseignement dans une école privée;

— le Gouvernement accorderait avec les entreprises de transports publiques le transport gratuit ou avec réduction de prix des mineurs en âge scolaire qui, ayant leur résidence à plus de 3 Kilomètres de tout établissement d'enseignement primaire officiel, ou ayant des handicaps physiques ou par quelque autre circonstance, ne peuvent pas aller à pied à l'école;

— les chargés d'éducation sans résidence fixe, en raison de leurs activités professionnelles à caractère itinérant, seraient obligés d'assurer, avec régularité, l'enseignement primaire des mineurs en âge scolaire et devraient, par conséquence, les présenter dans les établissements d'enseignement officiel les plus proches.

Outre ces mesures, le Décret-Loi en prenait d'autres pour renforcer l'obligation scolaire:

— à partir du 1.er Janvier 1959, les entités patronales du commer ce et de l'industrie ne pourraient pas admettre à leur service des mineurs de 21 ans qui n'auraient pas passé avec succès leur examen de la 4.e classe;

- à partir du 1.er Janvier 1959, les entités patronales de l'agriculture ne pourraient pas admettre à leur service des mineurs de 21 ans qui n'auraient pas obtenu approbation dans l'examen de l'enseignement primaire élémentaire (3.e classe);
- à partir du 1.er Janvier 1959, ne seraient pas admis à l'examen pour les conducteurs de véhicules automobiles les individus qui ne possédaient, comme habilitation *minimum*, l'examen de la 4.e classe de l'instruction primaire;
- à partir du 1.er Janvier 1958, on défendait aux individus qui ne possédaient la 3.e classe de l'enseignement primaire de participer aux compétions sportives officielles.À partir du 1.er Janvier 1959, l'interdiction serait emtensive à ceux qui n'auraient pas la 4.e classe. La transgression de ces dispositions aurait pour conséquence l'annulation des compétitions et l'application de sanctions,disciplinaires aux athlètes et aux dirigeants responsables par la transgression;
- à partir du 1.e Janvier 1959, pour l'exercice des fonctions directives en des clubs et en des associations de sport, de récréation et de culture et en d'autres organismes sociaux, l'approbation dans l'examen de la 4.e classe constituirait qualification scolaire minime;
- l'admission dans les services de l'État et d'autres organismes sociaux serait défendue à des individus ne possédant pas la 4.e classe;
- les fonctionnaires de l'État et d'autres organismes sociaux qui n'auraient pas la 3.e classe seraient obligés de passer l'examen dans le délai de deux ans.

Un Décret-Loi du 28 Mai 1960 élargit aux mineurs du sexe féminin l'obligation scolaire jusqu'à la 4.e classe. Dans le *Préambule* de ce Décret-Loi on fait savoir que l'étude des plans ayant en vue la prolongation de l'enseignement primaire au-delà de la 4.e classe était déjà achevée. Par un Décret-Loi du 9 Juillet 1964, qui a créé le cycle complémentaire de l'enseignement primaire, la scolarité obrigatoire a été encore élargi de deux ans de plus, ce qui fait une scolarité obligatoire de 6 ans.

À ce moment-là, les deux dernières années de la scolarité obligatoire de 6 ans pourraient être accomplis dans une des trois modalités d'enseignement suivantes: le cycle complémentaire de l'enseignement primaire (5.$^{e}$ et 6.$^{e}$ classes); le premier cycle des Lycées; ou le cycle préparatoire de l'enseignement technique profissionnel.

Le cycle complémentaire devenait obligatoire pour les enfants des deux sexes que s'immatriculaient dans la 1.$^{e}$ classe en 1964-1965, mais ce cycle commencerait à fonctionner avec caractère facultatif en 1966-1967.

Par un Décret-Loi du 2 Janvier 1967 on a créé le cycle préparatoire de l'enseignement secondaire qui a remplacé, les unifiant, le 1.$^{er}$ cycle des Lycées et le cycle préparatoire de l'enseignement technique professionnel. Ce cycle préparatoire commencerait à fonctionner dans l'année scolaire de 1968-1969; pourtant, il pouvait être mis en fonctionnement, dans quelques établissements d'enseignement, à titre expérimental, dans l'année scolaire de 1967--1968.

Par un Arrêté ministériel du 9 Août 1968, a été créé, à la Télécole, le cycle préparatoire TV.

Le cycle préparatoire de l'enseignement secondaire est resté, ainsi, diversifié en deux modalités, distinctes en ce qui concerne la forme de l'enseignement — dans un cas, directe, dans l'outre, audiovisual —, mais fondamentalement identiques dans leurs contenus, dans leurs buts et dans les diplômes qu'ils conféraient. La première modalité se dénomine encore aujourd'hui *cycle préparatoire direct* et la deuxième *cycle préparatoire TV.*

À partir de l'année scolaire de 1968-1969 (et jusqu'à l'extinction du cycle complémentaire de l'enseignement primaire, en 1979), il était possible d'accomplir la scolarité obligatoire de 6 ans au moyen de trois voies: cycle complémentaire de l'enseignement primaire, cycle préparatoire directe et cycle préparatoire TV.

La Loi nº 3/71, du 16 Août, a introdui dans la Constitution Politique le paragraphe suivant: "*l'enseignement de base est obligatoire*", s'entendant par enseignement de base les 6 premières annés de scolarité.

La dernière mise en scène du soi-disant État Nouveau, dans le domaine de l'éducation, a été la Loi nº 5/73, du 25 Juillet, qui décréta que l'ensei gnement obligatoire aurait la durée de 8 ans.

### 4. — Pendant la IIIe. République

Neuf mois après la promulgation de la Loi nº 5/73, est survenue la Révolution du 25 Avril 1974. Il s'en est ensuivi que cette Loi, bien que restant à la base du système éducatif portugais dans les dernières douze années, n'a jamais été intégralement observée, nommément en ce qui concerne la scolarité obligatoire de 8 ans.

La Constitution de 1976 attribue à l'État la charge d'*"assurer l'enseignement de base universel, obligatoire et gratuit"*, disposition qui s'est maintenue dans la révision constitutionnelle de 1982.

En 1980, le Gouvernement de l'Alliance Démocratique (coalition PSD/CDS) a présenté à l'Assemblée de la République une Proposition de Loi avec les Bases du Système Éducatif. Peu après, trois autres partis politiques (PS/MDP//CDE et PCP) ont présenté à la même Assemblée des Projets de Loi pour la réforme du système éducatif. Soit la Proposition soit les Projets préconisaient une scolarité obligatoire de 9 ans.

En tenant compte des réalités nationales, en particulier des dificultés d'ordre économique, un Décret-Loi du 7 Septembre 1984 établit la scolarité obligatoire de 6 ans. À ce moment, le 6e. année de scolarité est frequentée par environ 80% des enfants du groupe d'âge de 11-12 ans.

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## SUMMARY

This paper is about the introduction and development of compulsory school attendance in Portugal.

Compulsory school attendance is a product of Liberalism. Yet, the first Portuguese political Constitution (1822), because it did not consider education and schooling as one of the rights of the Portuguese people, does not men-

tion compulsory schooling. The Constitutional Charter (1826), however, places free primary schooling among a citizen's political rights. It is therefore not surprising that all the legislation on schooling which followed it should speak of the duty or obligation of attending school. The same is true of all the reforms carried out in primary schooling during the Constitutional Monarchy (1820-1910), the 1st Republic (1910-1926), the so-called New State (1926-1974) and the 3rd Republic.

Up until 1956, children were required by law to attend school for 3 years. In 1956, this period was raised to 4 years, but only for male children. In 1960, it was extended to girls as well. In 1964, school attendance was raised to 6 years. A law was passed in 1973 raising it to 8 years, but it was never fully carried out. And so a Decree-Law was passed in September 1984 which established a period of 6 years of compulsory school attendance.

At the time of writing this, 100% of all Portuguese children will have attended school for 4 years, and about 80% for 6 years.

# L'ENSEIGNEMENT OBLIGATOIRE DANS LES CONSTITUTIONS ESPAGNOLES DU XIX$^e$SIECLE

Federico Gómez Rodriguez de Castro

## 1. Les Constitutions

### 1.1. La Constitution de Bayonne de 1.808

L'histoire constitutionnelle espagnole apparaît avec la lettre de Bayonne, année 1.808.

Elaborée par soixante cinq deputés, assemblés à Bayonne, sur la base d'un projet presenté par l'Empererereur, il n'arriva jamais à avoir vigueur malgré qu'on prévoyait son éxecution dans un délai maximun de quatre ans.

Après l'abdication de roi Fernando en son père Charles et celui-ci en Napoleon, l'Empereur proclama roi d'Espagne à son frère José qui jura la Constitution le 8 Juillet 1808.

Le texte constitutionnel de Bayonne ne dédie aucun article, ni titre à l'instruction publique ni à son organisation.

Seulement au titre IX, dédié à l'Assemblée, on mentionne les Universités, on dispose que dans le Status du peuple, dans la disposition interne de l'Assemblée, quinze de ces députés apparte naient à l'Université, savants et hommes distingués par son mérite personnel dans les sciènces ou dans les arts, ils seront nonmés par le Roi, entre ceux qui figurent dans une liste:

1º. de quinze candidats présentés par le Conseil Royal, et
2º. de sept candidats présentés par chaqu'une des Universités du Royanme.

La législation postérieure seulement, et plus exactement en 1.809, à partir d'une série de lois éducatives, à l'origine clairement illustré, aborde le thème de l'éducation et de l'instruction. C'est ainsi qu'on régle l'établissement des lycées, la création d'écoles pour enfants et l'organisation d'écoles de caractère technique, comme celle de l'Agriculture ou le Conservatoire d'Arts. En 1811 fut crée en plus une Conseil Consultif d'Instruction Publique.

Mais toutes ces dispositions que nous venons de voir, en matière éducative, n'ont jamais été mise en pratique comme ne le fut non plus la Constitution de Bayonne.

## 1.2. La Constitution de Cadiz de 1.812

La Constitution de Bayonne est annulée par un décret de Septembre de 1810, date ou Fernando VII est reconnu comme roi légitime d'Espagne et ou l'Assemblée convoqué par le Regence, devient souveraine.

Reunié à Cadiz l'Assemblée charge à une comission l'élaboration d'une constitution, qui ou après être discuté dès cette date jusquà janvier de 1812, est enfin aprouvé et proclamé le 19 mars 1.912.

La Constitution de Cádiz a mantenu sa vigueur jusqu'à 1837, elle a eu des époques intérmediaires ou elle fut annulée temporelle ment et à nouveau rétablie. C'est ainsi que, avec le retour en - Espagne de Fernando VII en 1814 et la restauration du régime absolutiste, la constitution fut annulée jusqu'a 1820, date ou elle a été rétablié par le Roi. Cependant, après le soulèvement de -- 1822 des gardiens parti sans de l'absolutisme, elle est à nouveau abolie par Fernando VII en 1823. Après la mort du roi. Le Statut Royal promulgé par la Regente Mª Cristine en 1834 entre en viguer, jusqu'à 1834 que la reine esta obligée par la garde Royale à rétablir à nouveau la Constitution de 1812. En fin en 1837 -- elle est substitué par la nouvelle constitution de la monarchie.

En ce qui concerce la question éducative, et pour pouvoir -- comprendre ce que la constitution dit, il faut tenir compte que vers 1810 plus du 90% de la population était analphabète et -- pourtant l'immense mayorité des individus appartenant aux classes sociales inférieures ne savaient ni lire ni écrire.

L'enseignement primaire est volontaire. Son caractère obligatoire ne s'établit que jusqu'à 1857. L'enseignement primaire commence son organisation vers 1810 et les Universités, que -- vers ses dates ont perdu son ancien splendeur, restent réformés en 1807. Les articles plus significatifs de la Constitution de 1912 par rapport à l'éducation sont:

Article 366: "Dans tous les villages de la Monarchie on établira des écoles de premières lettres, dans lesquelles on apprendra aux enfants à lire et à compter, et le catéchisme de la réligion catholique, qui - comprendra aussi une brève exposition des obligations civiles".

Article 367: "Aussi on arrangera et on créera le nombre compétent d'Universités et d'autres établissements d'instructions qui se jugent convenients por l'enseignement de toutes les sciences, littérature et beaux-arts".

Article 368: "Le plan général de l'enseignement sera uniforme dans tout le Royaune, on devra expliquer la constitution politique dans toutes les Universités et établissements littéraires, ou l'on enseigne les sciences ecclésiastiques et politiques".

Article 369: " Il y aura une direction général d'études, composé par des personnes d'instruction, ils auront la charge, sous l'autorité du gouvernement, de l'inspection de l'ensignement publique".

Article 370: "L'Assemblée, à travers des plans et status spéciaux, arrangera tout ce qui appartierint à l'important objet de l'instruction publique.

### 1.3. La Constitution de 1.837

En 1.836, quand la préparation d'une nouvelle constitution fait par Isturiz démarait, le soulèvement de La Granje obligea la régente Marie Cristine à Jurer le texte de Càdiz. Cependant, à cette date la constitution du 12 avait déjà perdu sa validité. Les temps nouveaux et les circonstances ont fait nécéssaire une nouvelle constitution qué, appuyé sur celle de Càdiz et conservant ses principes fondamentaux, répond aux necesités de l'époque. Ainsi est née la Constitution de la Monarchie qui serait promulgué le 18 juin 1.837.

Il s'agit alors, d'une texte constitutionnel que, comme il est plus concis, el n'aborde pas toutes les questions traitées dans le texte de 1.812, entre elles celle qui se rapporte à l'instruction publique. La Constitution établit seulement les lignes générales et elle expédie á la legislation correspondante pour des questions plus concrètes

## 1.3. La Constitution de 1.845

En 1.843, après la chute d'Esparteros, commence la nommée "décade moderée". La Constitution de 1.845 est l'expression las plus claire du nouveau règime politique.

La structure extérieure est semblable à celle du 37 il s'agit d'une constitution brève, avec simplement 80 articles très concis.

## 1.5. La Constitution de 1.856 et la Réforme Constitutionnelle de 1.857.

Si la constitution de 1.845 reproduisait fidèlement le programme politique du programme moderée, celle de 1.856 c'est l'essaie de modeler le programme progresiste et l'éléver à Constitution pour que ce soit accepté par une partie du pays. Les constitutions de cette période de l'histoire espagnole reflètaient, alors, les necesités et pretentions du groupe au pouvoir, et voilà pourqoi le peu de validité et instabilité quand succombait le partie.

Pendant les deux ans que les progresistes ont manisfesté le pouvoir, ils ne sont pas arrivés à avoir une constitution.

Celle de 1856 qui fut approuvé par l'assamblée au mois de janvier, elle ne fut jamais promulguée.Cependant, elle a un grand intérét parce qu'elle ramasse dans un texte cohérent le programme progresiste.

La Constitution se compose de 92 articles, et comme dans les deux cas antérieurs, on n'aborde pas le thème éducatif.

Cependant pendant le vigueur de cette constitution, et en rang de loi (la fameuse loi Moyano de 1.857) on explicite pour la première fois en Espagne l'obligation de l'enseignement primaire.

### 1.6. La Constitution de 1.869

Après la Révolution de 1868 et la sortie d'Espagne de la Reine, le Conséil Revolutionnaire de Madrid confère au général Serrano la mission de former un gouvernement provisionnel, qui convoque l'Assamblée Constituante élue par suffrage universel L'Assamblée élabore un projet de Constitution, qui est approuvé et promulgué en juin de 1869.

Pour la première fois dans l'histoire constitutionelle espagnole, l'Assamblée est élue par suffrage universel, et aussi pour la première fois, dans la Constitution de 1869 le principe de souveraineté national se manisfeste à travers le suffrage universel:tous les espagnols (hommes, âgés de 25 ans) ont le droit au vote.

Ce qui attire l'attention est le fait que dans une si longue déclaration de droits et de libertés du citoyen il apparait celui de fonder des institutions éducatives, quand il fau drait penser à la priorité du droit à l'éducation, au moins au niveau primaire, et il n'apparraît pas.L'obligation de l'enseignement primaire n'est réglé dans aucun article constitutionnel, et non plus sa gratuité.

Suivant le courant du siècle, la constitution de 1869 a eu une courte puissance d'effet. La forme de gouvernement monarchieque par elle établie oblige à la recherche d'un roi, poste qui est occupé par Amadeo de Saboya. Son difficil royaume aura une durée seulement jusqu'à 1873 et avec son abdication reste derogé la Constitution de 1869.

### 1.7. Projet de Constitution Fédérale de la République Espagnole de 1.873.

Le 11 février 1.873, jour ou Amdeo I abdique, le Sénat et l 'Assamblée, dans une réunion conjointe proclame la premierè République Espagnole. Le 1 Juin de la même année s'ouvrent l'Asemblée Contituante et celle ci redige un projet de Constitution qui fut présenté le 17 Juillet, mais qui n'est jamais arrivé à être promulgé.

Le texte proclama la souveraineté national et pour la première fois dans l'histoire espagnole le forme d Etat est la République Fédérale.

La Constitution de 1873 est la première qu'établit explicitement l'enseignement obligatoire.

..."Les Constitutions des Etats doivent exiger de toute commune: qu'ils soutienent les écoles d'enfants et d'adultes, en donnant l'instruction primaire, gratuite et obligatoire".

## 1.8. La Constitution de 1.876.

Après la Restauratión de la monarchie Bourbonenne en 1874 et la formation d'une Assamblée élue par suffrage universel, - la nouvelle Constitution est aprouvée par l'Assamblée en fe--- vrier 1.876.

A différence des Constitutions antérieures, qui mode-- laient les programes politiques des uns et des autres partis, celle de 1.867 se caracterise par un esprit plus souple, qui - faisait son possible pour qu'il y est de la place toutes les - tendances politiques et au long du siècle ont montré une plus grande importance. A cet esprit tolérant doit la Constitution de 1.876 sa longue vigueur, vigueur qu 'aucune des antérieures constitutions ont réussi à atteindre.

Comme dans le cas de la Constitution antérieure on re-- gretta la formulation du droit à l'éducation tandis que la -- gratuité et l'enseignement obligatoire, avant établi, n'apparaissent pas dans ce cas.

## 2.1. Clasification des conclusions.

A grands traits nous pouvons dire que l'histoire espagnole du XIXe. siècle est l'histoire de la lutte pour le pouvoir des deux tendances politiques: la modérée et la progresiste. - Les Constitutions du XIXe. siècle sont une image réellement fidèle car dans la plupart des cas c'est une tentative de mode-- ler le programme politique du groupe au pouvoir.

Cependant nous trouvons à l'heure de faire une telle clasification, avec la difficulté que, souvent, les constitutions n'abordent pas le thème éducatif, voilà pourquoi la classification de telle ou telle manière est difficle, malgré que le texte général soit indicatif. D'un autre côté penser que la si complèxe histoire constitutionnelle du XIXe. siècle puis e rester duite à cette simple classification, serait avoir une vision très simpliste, mais une analyse plus profond dépasserait les intentions de ce travail.

La lettre de Bayonne, qui n'est pas pour ainsi le dire une Constitution, fut constitué derriére les politiciens espagnoles, et voilà pourquoi elle n'appartient à aucun des grands parties politiques, quoique sa philosophie est beaucoup plus proche aux modérées qu'aux progresistes. Quelque chose semblable arrive avec le Statut Royal de 1.834. Au groupe modéré appartient la Constitution de 1.845 et basée sur le modèle de 1.876. Cette dernière est celle qui pose un plus grand problème de clasification, car si elle suivait le modèle des Constitutions modérés, du à sa structure ouverte, elle fut aussi la Constitution des progresistes quand ceux-ci sont montés au pouvoir.

Au groupe progresiste appartenait par contre la Constitution de 1.812 et postérieurement toutes celles qui se sont baseés en elle celles de 1.937, 1.856, 1869, 1.873.
Du premier groupe, seulement la dernière d'entre elles parle du tu thème éducatif. Voici, alors, la première différence entre les deux groupes: les modérées ne touchent pas dans ses textes le thème éducatif o bien elles le font d'une façon ambigüe. Les Constitutions progresistes, à exception de celles de 1837 et 1.856. règlent tout le relatif à l'intruction publique d'une façon très prècise, en se rapportant à son organisation niveaux et aussi contenus.

Le point relatif à la liberté d'expression, d'enseignement et progession est une autre question à différencier: dans les textes à allure moderée ces libertés, si elles apparaisent elles le font avec plus de restrictions que dans les Constitutions progresistes.

## 2.2. Des avances et des reculs éducatifs tout au long du siècle à travers les Constitutions.

La Constitution de 1.812, comme elle est la première,elle aborde le thème éducatif, elle sert de base pour faire une analyse, à partir d'elle, des avances éducatifs.

L'enseignement obligatoire reste établie pour la première fois dans le texte de Cadiz, quoique encore d'une façon indirecte, comme obligation de l'individu appropiée au droit de l'intruction. Ce point restera oublié dans le texte de 1.869, et seulement dans la Constitution Républicaine de 73 l'instruction primaire, gratuite et obligatoire. Se proclame explicitement . C'est alors la première fois, et aussi la seule du XIXe. siècle dans laquelle on proclame le droit à léducation, car si en 1.876 on la présentait entre lignes, on ne le dit pas ouvertement.

En ce qui concerne à la liberté d'expression et à l'ouverture de centres éducatifs, nous pouvons dire que celles-ci éprouvent des restrictions plus grandes on plus petites selon il s'agit d'un texte à allure modérée ou progresiste. En général la liberté d'expression apparaît dans presque tous les textes, et le droit de tous les espagnoles de maintenir des centres éducatifs apparaît, à partir de 1.869, dans toutes les Constitutions.

L'uniformité de l'enseignement, établié dans l'article 368 de la Constitution de Cádiz, n'est nommé dans aucun texte, dans ce point d'une très grande importance, la Constitution de 1.812 relève un grand avance.

La Constitution de 1.812 est celle qui décie le plus grand nombre d'articles au thème éducatif en lui offrant un titre entier, ce qui manifeste qui c'est la Constitution qui donne le plus d'importance à l'éducation sauf la question de l'enseignement primaire obligatoire, exposé d'une façon indirecte, le texte de Cadiz traite toutes les questions éducatives d'importance. Les ordres chargés de son organisation, les types d' d'institutions et ses niveaux les contenus, les plans d'enseignement et l'inspection sont exposés dans le texte constitutionnel d'une façon claire et précise, et aucune autre constitution, après elle, le fait d'une façon aussi complète et systèmatyque.

## RESUME

Au commencement du XIXe. siècle l'histoire des Constitutions politiques espagnoles commence.

Les premières, à allure liberal, ne regardent pas le mandat obligatoire. En effet pour les politiciens de la bourgeoisie liberal, le bien-être de l'éducation est à tel point desiré qu'ils croient assez suffisant de défendre et de promulger le droit à - l'éducation pour que tous les citoyens s'éfforcent à utiliser ce droit.

C'est vers la moitié du XIXe. S. (1.957) qu'on promulgue, - avec rang de loi, le devoir du citoyen de reçevoir une éducation primaire. Des Constitutions espagnoles du XIXe.. Siècle, il y a que le projet de Constitution de la I. République Federal qui -- ramasse le principe obligatoire.

En laissant de côté les planifications légales, c'est un - fait que les luttes des progresistes et conservateurs retardent en Espagne, au XIXe. S., pas simplement l'implantation de l'enseignement obligatoire mais ce qui est plus grave l'exercice du droit à une éducation primaire.

# 1846.

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# LO STATO PONTIFICIO

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A spese del Compilatore.

# LE CHEMIN VERS L'ENSEIGNEMENT OBLIGATOIRE EN ESPAGNE AVANT 1857

## Anastasio Martínez Navarro

1) Le principe de la scolarité obligatoire apparaît expressément en Espagne dans un ouvrage du précurseur le plus éminent de la pensée libérale, ressortant sur les Espagnols "ilustrados" du 18e siècle: le compte de Cabarrús (1752 -1810). C'est lui qui est l'auteur des *Lettres sur les obstacles que la nature, l'opinion et les lois opposent au bonheur public*, dirigée à M. M.G. de Jovellanos en 1792. Dans la lettre II: "Sur les obstacles de l'opinion et le moyen de les surmonter sous l'effet d'une voie éclairée", l'auteur proposait un "système général d'éducation", où l'on considérait que l'enseignement élémentaire devrait être cummun et obligatoire pour tous les cotoyens: "Ne vont-ils pas à l'église? Alors pourquoi n'iraient-ils pas à ce temple patriotique? ... Aucun enfant ne peut être relevé, quelle que soit son origine, de cette présence précise, sous peine de ne pouvoir obtenir ni emploi ni fonction publique, sous peine de ne pouvoir être un citoyen; il doit être nécessaire pour tous de présenter un certificat de présence à l'école... de six à dix ans"(1). Les idées de Cabarrús, audacieuses, radicales, n'étaient pas originales, mais elles dépassaient le cadre du concept du "Despotismo ilustrado" en Espagne et elles ouvraient la voie au libéralisme bourgeois et même à la démocratie. Selon Jovellanos, il s'agissait "d'un homme extraordinaire chez qui la franchise du caractère prenait forme d'indiscrétion". Le professeur Negrín qualifie Cabarrús de pionnier du mouvement en faveur de l'école publique(2).

Dans ce sens Cabarrús a été plus loin que Jovellanos, représentant par excellence des idées pédagogiques se dégageant de l'esprit philosophique du Siècle des lumières. Nous y trouvons la reconnaissance expresse du droit de s'instruire, mais sans aller toutefois aussi loin, il ne faissait pas allusion au devoir de s'instruire. Sa *Mémoire sur l'instruction publique* (1800), contient tous les arguments nécessaires pour justifier la scolarité obligatoire imposée par l'Etat, elle reconnaît que l'obligation de s'instruire est inhéren te à"l'homme naturel et religieux" et plus encore au citoyen en raison de"l'amour public", dont sa condition en fait une obligation. Cependant, au moment de faire des recommandations, il demande tout simplement que le droit de s'instruire soit concédé à tous les enfants(3).

Le processus qui conduit à implanter l'escolarité obligatoire passe par una phase préalable de reconnaissance du droit à l'éducation.

2) Ils se trouvent encore, entre ces deux phases, le Rapport Quintana de 1813 et l'Avis et Projet de Décret (1814) auquel ce Rapport a donné lieu. Ils constituent les fondements de tout l'édifice législatif scolaire en Espagne. L'intention du législateur: "que tous les citoyens puissent bénéficier de l'enseignement primaire"(4), qui serait gratuit, révèle plutôt la sauvegarde d'un droit que l'imposition d'un devoir exigeable au citoyen. L'article 8 de ce Projet de Décret définissait l'enseignement primaire comme "une instruction générale et indispensable devant être donnée à l'enfance", sans affirmer pour autant, de façon explicite, que les enfants étaient obligés de la recevoir. Cependant, il faisait allusion au fait que son contenu aurait dû s'adapter aux conditions exigées par la Constitution pour pouvoir exercer les droits du citoyen à partir de 1830(5). L'article 10 du Réglement général d'Instruction publique de 1822, s'exprimait dans des termes demblables; il concrétisait ce Projet de Décret quelques années plus tard (6).

L'article 25 de la première Constitution espagnole (1812) stipulait en effet, que, depuis 1830, pour jouir des droits conférés aux citoyens on devrait savoir lire et écrire. Cette affirmation revenait à considérer la qualité de citoyen et l'obligation de posséder un enseignement primaire comme les éléments d'une même substance. A la suite de ce précepte, la scolarité obligatoire était devenue en réalité un fait établi. Cependant, comme on le sait, la mise en vigueur de la Constitution de 1812 n'a eu qu'une durée éphémère ne depassant pas quelques années. Cette disposition envers la scolarité obligatoire ne fut pas pas reprise par les constitutions postérieures de 1837 et 1845.

3) La révolution libérale et bourgeoise, mise en marche en Espagne à l'occasion de la guerre contre Napoléon (1808-1814) et qui ne fut jamais tout à

fait menée à bien, a été mise en échec par la restauration absolutiste implantée par Fernando VII (1814-1833). A la mort du roi, la succession au trône donna lieu à de nouvelles menées révolutionaires qui, cette fois, prirent la forme d'une guerre civile prolongée connue sous le nom de Guerras Carlistas (1832-1839, 1847-1860 et 1869-1875) où s'affrontaient deux concepts économiques, sociaux et politiques différents: absolutisme et libéralisme; le passé traditionnel et l'avenir.

La option libérale en 1833, c'est-à-dire l'abandon definitif de la structure politique d'Ancien régime, a permis à l'Espagne d'accéder à une époque, ou un nouvel élan allait être donné à l'éducation du peuple, qui allait recueillir de meilleurs résultats, quoiqu'il fût freiné par un retard considérable(7). L'institution de la scolarité obligatoire en 1857 allait être une des réussites les plus notables. Mais pour y arriver, il avait fallu suivre un chemin, despuis la mort de Fernando VII jusqu'à la promulgation de la Loi Moyano (1857), semé de difficultés causées par la lutte politique des groups libéraux entre eux -modérés et progressistes en proie à la prise du pouvoir- qui venait s'ajouter à la crise endémique de l'économie. Cet antagonisme des partis politiques reste refleté dans les textes législatifs de l'époque, relatifs à l'enseignement primaire.

Le ministre J. Moscoso de Altamira, du premier gouvernement libéral présidé par M. Martínez de la Rosa, donna le premier pas en avant en créant une commission(8) pour la mise sur pied d'un Plan général d'Enseignement primaire. Au bout de trois mois et demi de travail, elle avait préparé une *Instruction pour le régime et le fonctionnement des écoles de premières lettres du Royaume* (21 Oct. 1834)(9) qui fut acceptée provisoirement. Ce programme d'instruction visait à favoriser la création d'écoles dans les villages et les zones rurales à faible densité de population. Pour remplacer les "Juntas" du ministre de l'Ancien régime,Calomarde; il instituait des "Comisiones" cherchant à conjuguer les intérêts de l'Etat, du clergé et des pères de famille. Il ne s'agissait, pour le moment, que de construire suffisamment d'écoles et le chemin vers la scolarité obligatoire s'arrétait devant la bonne recommendation aux

Commissions locales de veiller à ce que "l'assistence soit assidue et dans ce but, de faire les observations apportunes aux pères de famille, plus spécialement aux pauvres, sur les avantages d'une bonne éducation".

Le manque d'écoles était l'obstacle le plus sérieux au développement souhaitable de l'éducation populaire et la situation précaire des fonds municipaux, soutien de l'enseignement primaire, fauchait à la racine toute tentative d'entreprendre une amélioration. L'économie des municipalités et celle de la nation étaient en ruines. Les guerres n'en finissaient pas; la perte de la flotte avait réduit le comerce et, ceci, avait paralysé l'agriculture et l'artisanat. On avait perdu les colonies, alors que d'autres pays européens étaient en train de construire les empires coloniaux nécessaires au développement de leurs industries. Voici un fait differenciel reconnu dans l'histoire de l'Espagne(10). Les maîtres n'étaient pas payés et sans écoles ni instituteurs, à quoi bon penser à la scolarité obligatoire?

4) Bien qu'ayant peu de possibilités de résoudre ces problèmes et peut-être sans avoir la volonté d'y apporter des solutions réelles, on a néanmoins continué à légiférer. En 1836 le Gouvernement a dressé un *Plan général d'Instruction publique* (R.D. 4 août), élaboré par le ministre le duc de Rivas. C'était le programme d'éducation du parti modéré(11). Une de ses caractéristiques a été la supression de la gratuité de l'enseignement primaire. Quant à la construction d'écoles et l'encouragement à l'assistence scolaire, l'attitude du ministre était encore plus ambiguë qu'elle ne l'avait été à l'Instruction de 1834. On avait fait un pas en arrière. Le bouleversement politique de cette même année et la promulgation d'une nouvelle Constitution l'année suivante n'ont pas permis que ce Plan, refusé pour ne pas avoir été l'objet d'un débat aux Cortes, entrât en vigueur.

5) Cependant, comme il était nécessaire de donner à l'enseignement primaire un cadre législatif, la gouvernement présenta aux Cortes, pour le soumettre à débat, le projet du plan d'instruction primaire élaboré par la commission du ministre Moscoso de Altamira, en 1834(12). Après avoir été étudié par una commission du Congrès, il a été rédigé un "*Dictamen*"(13 mai 1837), où l'on consi-

dérait que l'enseignement élémentaire était "indispensable pour tous, parce que tout le monde a besoin d'y recourir tous les jours pour son propre bien et pour celui de la société où ils vivent". Il était proposé un article 21, rédigé de cette façon: "les parents, les tuteurs et les personnes qui les substituent, sont obligés d'envoyer les enfants à l'école publique, dès qu'ils ont l'âge de six ans ou, à défaut, de leur fournir les moyens nécessaires pour recevoir l'enseignement primaire élémentaire". On avait décidé de rendre obligatoire l'assistance à l'école, on indiquait l'âge d'y entrer, mais pas encore le temps qu'il fallait y rester(13). Malheureusement, cet Dictamen n'a pas fait non plus l'objet d'un débat en séance plénière et il n'a pas été voté davantage.

6) Après que la nouvelle Constitution fut ratifiée (18 juin 1837), au sein du parlement récemment élu, il a été demandé de nouveau de prendre en considération, comme proposition de loi, le projet cité auquel la commission des Cortes Constituantes avaient donné leur "dictamen" favorable. Mais le ministre de l'Interieur, le marquis de Someruelos, a pris les devants en présentant un nouveau projet (janvier 1838)(14) qui a obtenu una approbation provisoire dans les termes dans lesquels il a été corrigé 'ar la nouvelle commission du Congrès des Députés, cgargée de l'examiner(15).

Le projet du ministre reprenait les arguments contenus dans le "Dictamen"de 1837 et il était plus ambitieux que les modifications faites par la commission. Il n'acceptait pas une gratuité entière de l'enseignement, en faisant allusion au caractère utopique démontré par l'expérience qui en avait été faite en France. Son article 22 stipulait que les enfants devaient aller en classe à partir de six ans, jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient dix ans révolus. On indiquait déjà l'age de sortie.

Mais les amendements de la commission, qui ont transformé le projet en Plan d'Instruction primaire (21 juillet 1838), approuvé provisoirement, ne faisaient aucune allusion à une assistance obligatoire effective; ils parlaient, tout simplement, de l'obligation morale des parents par rapport à la société. L'article 26 disait: "Les Commissions locales s'efforceront de stimuler les pa rents et les tuteurs pour qu'ils fassent accomplir ce devoir important en mettant à profit toutes leurs connaissances, avec zèle, pour éliminer les obstacles qui s'y opposent". En émettant son avis, la commission a fourni de nombreux arguments pour expliquer la suppression du principe de scolarité obligatoire en projet. Elle a souligné que, compte tenu de la situation actuelle de la nation, la nécessité de mettre à profit le travail exécuté par les enfants, de même que l'ignorance et l'indolence des parents n'auraient pas permis de mettre en pratique le précepte légal de scolarité obligatoire(16). Ce Plan d'Instruction primaire, quoique provisoire, à constitué le cadre légal de l'enseignement primaire en Espagne jusqu'à la promulgation de la Loi d'Instruction publique de 1857 (Loi Moyano). L'obligation scolaire, escamotée en cette circonstance, a dû attendre presque vingt ans pour être implantée.

7) Au cours des années successives, diverses réglementations ont fait leur apparition pour développer ce cadre légal. Le Réglement des Commissions d'Instruction publique (18 avril 1839)(17), en ce qui concerne les mesures favorisant la scolarité, n'en disait guère plus que le texte de l'article 26 du Plan de Someruelos. Il recommandait que les commissions veillassent tout spécialement à ce que la scolarité soit appliqué par les plus pauvres et, celà en tout cas, ne pas négliger les conseils persuasifs lancés dès la chaire des curés, en affirmant: "L'ecclésiastique commissioné rendra un service éminent au peuple si, dès sa chaire, il use de son influence pour faire comprendre aux familles que l'envoie de leurs enfants à l'école est une affaire de la plus haute importance". Mais aucune autre allusion n'est faite aux moyens à employer ni à la mise en application de formules plus précises.

8) Après dix ans de gouvernement exercé par le libéralisme modéré (1843-1853), un coup d'Etat dirigé par le général O'Donnell (juin 1854) a fait passer le pouvoir au parti libéral progressiste qui s'y est maintenu pendant deux ans. Cette tendance nouvelle du panorama politique a relancé l'intérêt en faveur de l'instruction publique. Des voix se sont élevées aux Cortes pour dénoncer des menées réactionnaires, arbitraires ou erronées de quelques diputaciones provinciales ou des municipalités ayant porté atteinte à l'instruction

publique en prétendant réaliser des économies au détriment des instituteurs dont les salaires, déjà très maigres et peu sûrs, menaçaient d'être rognés davantage(18). D'autres voix se plaignaient que "la génération actuelle était peut-être plus en retard et moins libérale qu'il eût été souhaitable et qu'on le pouvait espérer". Grâce à ces voix, qui avaient lancé l'alerte, on a réussi à nommer une nouvelle commission chargée de préparer "un projet de loi générale sur l'éducation,l'enseignement et l'instruction publique"(19).

La commission a reçu de nombreux travaux faits par des membres du corps enseignant, d'institutions et de personnes intéresées par cette question. En décembre 1855 elle a reçu aussi un Projet de Loi d'Instruction publique, élaboré par le ministre M. Alonso Martínez. L'article 5 de ce Projet parlait de l'enseignement obligatoire "pour tous les Espagnols... depuis l'âge de six jusqu'à neuf ans"(20). Sur ce point, l'article coïncidait avec beaucoup des travaux mentionnés auparavant, qui, pour des intérêts pédagogiques, suppose-t-on, ou évidemment professionnels, en demandaient autant. Una chose qui attire l'attention dans tous ces textes c'est la nécessité de justifier une mesure qui pouvait être considérée comme portant atteinte au droit des parents à exercer leur puissance paternelle, en invoquant le besoin impérieux de sauver le corps malade d'une Espagne plongée dans lígnorance et en s'appuyant sur des comparaisons établies avec la France, l'Allemagne, l'Angleterre ou encore avec les Etats-Unis. A la vue du dossier volumineux constitué par les 66 exposés, imprimés quelques-uns d'entre eux,toujours conservés(21), on peut affirmer que le Projet de Loi, non seulement est connu, mais qu'il a été dûment informé et, encore, que la commission du Congrès a pu compter sur una participation apportée par des citoyens en connaissance de cause. Parmi ceux qui ont exprimé le désir de faire implanter la scolarité obligatoire, il faut citer: des instituteurs d'enseignement primaire élémantaire et supérieur, des élèves de l'Ecole Normale Centrale de Madrid, des professeurs d'enseignement primaire supérieur et des directeurs d'écoles de Barcelone -parmi ceux derniers, il est surprenant, il y avait autant de maîtres que de maîtresses-; des professeurs d'instruction primaire à Pontevedra, des membres du Conseil d'établissements d'enseignement d'enseignement secondaire à Orense et à Zamora, ainsi que les initiatives prises par les Diputaciones Provinciales de Barcelone, qui en donna l'élan, de Séville, de Gérone, de Salamanque, de Cadix, de Malaga et de Saragosse. Le texte envoyé par la Diputación de Cadix, par exemple, disait: "Les différentes méthodes, plus ou moins utiles, qui ont été mises en pratique en Espagne pour améliorer ou étendre les bénéfices de l'enseignement public, n'ont pas donné les résultats ni les avantages qu'elles auraient dû, car elles sont venu s'échouer sur un écueil, et c'est una constatation douloures se s'il en est, l'indifférence avec laquelle on regarde généralement l'instruction, bien parce que les gouvernementsne lui ont pas donné toute l'importance qu'elle a et que d'autres pays, par contre, lui ont conféré, bien parce que l'influence pernicieuse exercée sur l'entendement des Espagnols par l'Inquisition ou par d'autres causes qu'il serait prolixe d'énumérer n'a pas encore lâché prise... La Diputación Provincial de Cadixn'importunera pas davantage l'attention du Congrès et, comme consequence de tout ce qu'elle a eu l'honneur d'exposer, elle suplie les Cortes de bien vouloir décréter que l'instruction est obligatoire dès le plus jeune âge jusqu'à la puberté pour les enfants de deux sexes; elles sera donnée dans les localités où il existe des écoles, gratuitement pour les pauvres, et le bénéfice incommensurable de l'instruction s'étendra aussi aux agglomérations n'ayant pas encore d'écoles, ainsi qu'auxcasernes, prisons et bagnes, où il serait très utile de la faire parvenir; en dernier lieu, le Code penal devrait indiquer les mesures opportunes à prendre à l'encontre des parents, des tuteurs et autres personnes ayant charge d'enfants, qui contreviendraient à ces devoirs sociaux"(22).

9) Or, quand le 13 juillet 1856 le Président du Gouvernement, le Général Espartero, présenta sa demission à la Reine, ce qui declencha une nouvelle crise politique, la commission des Cortes n'avait pas encore émis son avis et, de cette façon, le Projet de Loi élaboré par M. Alonso Martínez en resta à ce stade, sans avoir été soumis à un débat à la chambre.

Cependant, le temps avait acquis sa maturité et M. Claudio Moyano, nouveau ministre dans le gouvernement modéré du Général Narváez, a su se servir de la tactique adéquate en présentant aux Cortes le 14 mai 1857, uniquement,le projet d'une loi de bases, afin d'éviter la probabilité de longs débats parlementaires. La loi de bases aprouvée, le Gouvernement s'appuierait sur elle en vue de rédiger le texte d'une loi d'instruction publique. Après que le projet eut été examiné par la Chambre, la scolarité obligatoire s'est vue justifiée comme M. Moyano l'avait prévu, en se basant sur la nécessité sociale de donner una instruction aux citoyens, tout en s'efforçant d'envelopper cet impératif dans des souples expressions: "A l'époque actuelle, toutes les clases de la société sans aucune exception ont besoin de posséder un certain degré d'instruction. C'est pourquoi les bases que la commission a l'honneur de soumettre aux débats du Congrès stipulent à la fois que l'enseignement primaire sera gratuit pour les familles qui ne peuvent pas le payer et que cet enseignement sera obligatoire pour tous; cette obligation, imposée à tous, est assez souple si l'on tient compte des avantages qu'elle rapportera à chacun et elle le sera davantage dès le moment où la loi autorisera l'enseignement au foyer; en outre la commission considère, et elle doit l'expliquer ainsi, que le Gouvernement ne peut imposer que cette obligation soit accomplie par d'autres moyens qui ne soient indirects, sucesifs, tout en étant efficaces"(23).

Caractère obligatoire, oui, mais la gratuité est exclue. Caractère obligatoire de l'instruction, mais pas de la scolarité... Caractère obligatoire en fin de compte, même si dès le début il soulève des appréhensions, surtout à propos de l'enseignement au foyer, reflétées par ici et par là.

La Loi de bases a été aprouvée et a donné lieu à la Loi d'Instruction Publique (9 septembre 1857) qui représente la dernière pierre à l'édifice du système scolaire national en Espagne et dont l'article 7 précisait: "L'enseignement primaire est obligatoire pour tous les Espagnols... depuis l'âge de six ans jusqu'à celui de neuf ans".

Notes

(1) CABARRUS, Conde de: Cartas. Madrid, Castellote, 1973; pp.129 ss.

(2) NEGRIN, O.: "La Carta II de F. Cabarrús" dans Revista de Ciencias de la Educación, 97(1979)47-66

(3) JOVELLANOS, G.M.de: "Memoria sobre educación pública" dans Obras escogidas. Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1966; p. 51 ss.

(4) QUINTANA, M.J.: "Informe de la Junta creda por la Rejencia..." dans Obras completas. Madrid, Atlas, 1946

(5) "Dictamen y proyecto de decreto" en RUIZ BERRIO,J.: Política escolar de España en el siglo XIX. Madrid, C.S.I.C., 1970

(6) Art. 10 du Reglamento General de Instrucción Pública (29 juin 1821)

(7) GIL DE ZARATE, A.: De la instrucción pública en España. Madrid, Imp. del Colegio de Sordomudos, 1855; T.I, p. 246

(8) D. 6 sept. 1834 dans Eco del Comercio (9 sept. 1834) Daprès Gil de Zárate, l'âme de la Commission a été Pablo Montesino.

(9) Eco del Comercio (24 oct. 1834)

(10) JUTGLAR, A.: La España que no pudo ser. Barcelona, Anthropos, 1971

(11) PUELLES BENITEZ, M.: Educación e ideología en la España contemporánea. Barcelona, Labor, 1980

(12) Diario de Sesiones del Congreso de los Diputados (1836-7)632

(13) Diario de Sesiones... (13 mai 1837)3381

(14) Diario de Sesiones... (25 nov.1837, 23 dec. 1837, 27 dec.1837)

(15) Diario de Sesiones... (29 janv. 1838, 27 mai 1838, 21 juin 1838, 22 juin 1838)

(16) Diario de Sesiones... Apéndice 2º au nº 149 (17 mai 1838)

(17) Colección legislativa de Instrucción Primaria. Madrid, Imp. Nacional, 1856

(18) Diario de Sesiones... (24 mai 1855)

(19) Diario de Sesiones... (26 avril 1855)4182

(20) Diario de Sesiones... (22 dec.1855)

(21) Archivo del Congreso de los Dipurados (ACD) Serie general, L.102,exp.45

(22) ACD: Serie general, L.102,exp.45,nº51

(23) Diario de Sesiones... (12 juin 1857)586

## SUMMARY

The "Carta II" of the Conde de Cabarrús(1792) puts forward the idea of compulsory education in Spain. From this date until the enactment of the Moyano Law (1857) which finally establishes this educational obligation, a long legislative process had to be followed, where the struggles of the modern, progressive, liberal tendencies stand out against the shortness of financial resources assigned to public education. In 1856, some Diputaciones Provinciales and many teachers demanded compulsory education in the best interests of education and profesionalism. In the integrists' view, however, compulsory education was a threat to paternal authority.

# APPORT DES MUNICIPALITES CONSTITUTIONNELLES A L'INTRODUCTION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT OBLIGATOIRE EN ESPAGNE

## Julio Ruiz Berrio

Dans l'histoire de la législation scolaire espagnole qui verse sur l'enseignement obligatoire, on considère comme première déclaration à ce sujet le Brevet Royal du 12 Juillet 1781. Cependant, il est bon de rappeler que cette disposition-là n'est pas précise ni complète, car elle découle de l'Administration à propos du problème des fainéants et des vagabonds du pays. C'est pourquoi la déclaration se pose de façon indirecte, quoiqu'elle commande aux parents riches, aux Régisseurs, Jurés, Députés et Syndics, de donner aux enfants "l'éducation convenable". Cést peut-être ce qui a amené à Lorenzo Luzuriaga à dire que cette loi pouvait être considérée comme un "essai d'établissement de l'enseignement obligatoire" (1).

Mais, dans l'esprit du gouvernant, l'intention était nette, puisque dans l'Ordonnance Royale circulaire du 6 Mai 1790 on faisait rapport au Brevet Royal dont nous avons parlé et à son contenu essentiel concernant les enfants.En plus, et pour renforcer sa justification par des antécédents, on nommait la législation sur les Ecoles Primaires de 1771, de même que l'article 18 de l'Instruction de Corrégisseurs de Maires Majeurs du 15 Mai 1788. Cette législation ordonnait aux autorité de parvenir à ce que "les Maîtres d'Instruction Primaire accomplissent exactement leur ministère" en apprenant aux enfants ce qui est légiféré; et de surveiller aussi les maîtresses et la situation des écoles de petites filles. En mêmem temps que ces dispositions à niveau du territoire national, il faut rappeler une Loi à niveau régional, la Loi XVI du Parlement de Navarre de 1780-81. Dans son article VI, on ordonne de façon catégorique et nette que"dans tous les villages où il y a un Maître et une Ecole ouverte, tous les enfants doivent y accourir depuis l'âge de cinq ans accomplis (jusqu'à douze ans accomplis)"; et on énumère des sanctions pécuniaires pour les parents qui manquent à cette législation-là. L'article XX élargit le caractère obligatoire de la loi aux petites filles, tout en tenant compte de possibles exceptions dans la façon et le temps de mener à bout une telle scolarisation. "Item, toutes les fillettes doivent accourir à l'Ecole depuis l'âge de cinq ans jusqu'à douze (si toute fois on ne les congédie avant vu qu'elles sont dejà instruites), excepté celles dont les Mères veuillent leur enseigner chez-elles. Dans le cas des filles, le manque d'accomplissement de la Loi serait puni aussi par

des sanctions pécuniaires, dont le montant serait la moitié que pour les garcons.
Nous comprendrons mieux le sens de ces articles si nous rappelons que la Loi XLl qui les renferme verse sur les "Providences pour l'établissement d'Ecoles pour les garcons et pour les filles - séparemment- dans les villages de ce Royaume, et les qualités inhérentes aux maîtres et maîtresses". (2). De toute facon, je vais m'arrêter à ne plus parler du grand spectre des intérêts éducatifs de la Loi en question, car je l'ai fait largement dans d'autres ouvrages, et parce quîl y a des personnes qui ont fait récemment des recherches sur ce point-là. Cependant, il est bon de redresser une erreur commise par le grand hispanien francais DESDEVISES DU DEZERT (unique auteur qui a étudié cette disposition-là jusqu'aux cinq dernières années) dans son ouvrage sur l'époque en question en Espagne. Il affirmait que "le Parlement de Navarre déclara obligatoire l'enseignement en 1795" (3); il oubliait que la Loi XXXVl du Parlement de Navarre de 1794/95/96/97 ne faisait qu'exiger l'accomplissement de la Loi XLl dejá nommée.

## LES MUNICIPALITES ET L'ENSEIGNEMENT PRIMAIRE

L'histoire du travail municipal dans les questions d'enseignement primaire constitue un des chapîtres les plus passionnants et éclaircissants que l'on puisse étudier. On y trouve, certainement, beaucoup de clair-obscurs en Europe aussi bien que dans d'autres parties du monde, mais il faut mener à bout une étude d'ensemble qui soulignera probablement le rôle des Municipalités - le plus important, à mon avis- dans le procès historique européen de la scolarisation. Nous avons tous plaisanté au sujet de ces organismes et nous avons tous critiqué les erreurs et les abandons qu'ils ont subi à plusieurs reprises en ce qui concerne l'enseignement. Cependant, qui osera douter de ce que depuis les derniers siècles du Moyen Age jusqu'à notre siècle, les Municipalités ont été la base et même les seuls -la plupart des fois- de la longue aventure humaine de l'alphabétisation?...

Nous ne devons pas oublier que l'intervention de l'Etat dans les questions d'enseignement primaire est un fait historique de ce que nous appellons Epoque contemporaiene. Et même dans cette période, en plein procès de stabilisation, l'Etat s'est borné durant cent ans à légiférer, ordonner, commander; mais ce sont les Municipalités qui ont continué à apporter l'argent pour soutenir l'enseignement et pour faire réalité la légiferation élaborée dans les fauteuils ministériels.

On pourra objecter: "il y a eu de grandes différences entre certaines Municipalités et d'autres, entre certaines époques et d'autres..." Bien sûr..."L'enseignement a été bien souvent l'humble Cendrillon des budgets et des intérêts municipaux..." C'est aussi vrai. Mais le développement actuel de l'Histoire locale est en train de montrer par de nombreuses recherches (en Espagne et dans le monde entier) que même avant la(République) Révolution Française il y avait un grand nombre d'Ecoles en plusieurs pays européens; et que tout au long du XIX siècle ce sont les Municipalités qui ont rendu possible - et aussi parfois impossible- le rêve moderniste de la scolarisation.

Dans le thème de l'introduction de l'enseignement obligatoire dans les pays (surtout les pays européens) je pense que les Municipalités ont joué aussi un rôle fondamental. Je ne sais pas si le moment est venu de nous questionner sur la convenance ou inconvenance de l'instruction obligatoire; mais ce dont on ne peut pas douter c'est que la caractéristique de l'enseignement obligatoire fut essentielle dans les petites préoccupations éducatives et dans les grands programmes politiques des hommes du Despotisme éclairé, et plus encore, des constitutionalistes. Et, je le redis: la Municipalité a été l'agent réel pour atteindre cet enseignement obligatoire ( ou du moins, pour avancer das ce sens) Un exemple de cette affirmation fut celui de la première Municipalité constitutionnelle de Madrid dans le Triennat Libéral de 1820 à 1823. Quelques uns pourront me dire: ce fut la seconde. Peut-être oui. Mais si nous tenons compte du moment historique de la Municipalité installée le 1er. Septembre 1809, sous le régime de Joseph I, de même que celle de 1813 à 1814, qui correspondent à une étape de guerre, avec toutes ses limitations économiques, professionnelles, idéologiques, de migration, etc. je considère que la Municipalité de 1820 a été la première "constitutionnelle" avec des possibilités de réalisations. Les pages qui suivent versent sur son travail dans l'enseignement et sur la collaboration qu'elle a apportée à l'introduction de l'enseignement gratuit et obligatoire.

## LA COMMISSION MUNICIPALE D'EDUCATION DE MADRID DANS LE TRIENNAT LIBERAL

Ferdinand VII a été obligé de jurer la Constitution le 9 Mars 1820, pressé par le triomphe du soulèvement constitutionaliste de Rafael Riego et par le pouvoir croissant et rapide des groupes libéraux. C'était la Constitution promulguée par "las Cortes de Cádiz" le 18 Mars 1812 et que le Roi avait révoquée, condamnée et persécutée. Cette Constitution allait devenir la base des nouvelles directrices de l'éducation publique. Les articles les plus importants étaient: l'article nº 321, dont la 5ème. concorde oblige les Municipalités à payer l'enseignement public du Commun; l'article nº 335, dont la 5ème. prévention charge les Conseils Généraux de "promouvoir l'éducation de la Jeunesse"; et l'article nº 369 du Titre IX, qui dit: "il doit y avoir une Direction Générale d'Etudes composée par des personnes instruites qui auront en charge l'inspection de l'enseignement public sous l'autorité du Gouvernement."

Le Règlement général d'Instruction Publique du 29 Juin 1821 confirme la Constitution tout en précisant certains points. Ce Règlement décrète l'enseignement public gratuit et, tel que Gil de Zárate le dit, ordonne "établir des Ecoles dans tous les villages ayant cent voisins; et une Ecole pour chaque cinq cents voisins dans les cités populeuses. Tout l'enseignement se trouva alors en charge de la Direction Générale d'Etudes, destinée à surveiller l'Instruction Publique sous les ordres immédiates du Gouvernement."(4). Le Roi ordonna la formation de cette Direction Générale d'Etudes le 6 Août 1821; les Directeurs furent: D. MANUEL JOSE QUINTANA, D. José Domingo Mintegui, D. Juan Manuel Aréjula, D. José Mariano Vallejo et D. José Luis Munárriz.

Le Chef politique Supérieur de la Province de Madrid, informait la Municipalité - le 24 Août- au sujet de ce que nous avons dit, en exhortant nettement tous les "établissements littéraires" à s'adresser depuis lors à la Direction Générale d'Etudes, excepté ceux qui dépendaient directement des Municipalités et des Conseils Généraux.

Ainsi donc... vu que l'enseignement public madrilène était "en charge immédiate" de la Municipalité et du Conseil Général, ce furent ces organismes-là qui s'occupèrent directement de l'enseignement public. Nous allons voir le travail de la Municipalité dans ce camp de l'éducation.

Le 9 Mars 1820 eut lieu le "rétablissement" de la Municipalité Constitutionnelle. D. Pedro Sainz de Baranda et D. Rodrigo Aranda furent désignés Maires; et D. Francisco Fernández de Ibarra: Secrétaire. Et déjà le 14 Mars, le Collège Académique du "Noble Arte de Primeras Letras" (créé en 1780) présenta sa démission aux autorités municipales, tout en consultant sur ses futures fonctions. Il y avait encore en marche l'Assemblée Générale de Charité (créée aussi par l'ancien Régime) et la Municipalité en prit conseil . Au mois d'Avril de cette même année 1820, le Conseil Général demanda à la Municipalité de prendre en charge tout ce qui concernait cette Assemblée par rapport à l'instruction et a la Bienfaisance; en même temps, il lui fit part de la décision du Conseil Général de se charger par lui-même de l'examen des maîtres.

La Municipalité parvint à assumer tous les pouvoirs dans le terrain scolaire au mois de Décembre 1821. Le 7 Décembre, le Maire ler. Constitutionnel ordonna à sa commission d'Eduacation et Bienfaisance de prendre en charge et d'étudier tous les documents de l'Assemblée de Charité se rapportant à l'instruction. On décida, par la suite, de nommer des INSPECTEURS DES ECOLES PUBLIQUES , ce qui fut réalisé le 10 Janvier 1822 (Gaceta de Madrid du 12 Janvier). Les cinq membres qui composainet la Commission D'EDUCATION ET BIENFAISANCE DE LA MUNICIPALITE furent désignés comme tels Inspecteurs. Voici leurs noms:

- D. Cesáreo María Saens ( des Quartiers de la Plaza et de San Martín)

- D. Eusebio María Balbi ( de ceux de Palación et San Jerónimo)
- D. Bernardino Entillac (Maravillas et Barquillo)
- D. Antonio Ruiz (Afligidos et Lavapiés)
- D. Manuel de Roda y Rodas (S. Isidro et S. Francisco).

Ces Inspecteurs se réunissaient périodiquement pour résoudre les problèmes que les maîtres et l'enseignement primaire en général posaient infatigablement. D'autre part, c'étaient eux qui étaient chargés de mettre en oeuvre les ordres et les projets tracés par la Direction Générale d'Etudes et le Conseil Général. Ils étaient toujours en rapport avec ces organismes -là et leur ligne de conduite fut toujours caractérisée par leur syntonisation réciproque. Cependant, il ne faut pas les considérer comme de simples instruments des sphères gouvernamentales; en plusieurs occasions, ce furent eux qui activèrent et décidèrent de promouvoir toute une série d'ordonnances sur l'instruction primaire, qui gissaient dans certains bureaux , ou qui n'avaient pas été conçues par les premières autorités.

Le but principal de la Commission d'Education de la Municipalité fut de donner la plus rigoureuse uniformité à l'organisation scolaire publique. La centralisation qui existait dans ce terrain, vu qu'elle était le seul pouvoir immédiat, permit et encouragea fortement la possibilité de mettre en ordre et de résoudre en toute précision les différents paragraphes concernant les écoles publiques.Les hommes de la Commission, pleins d'amour pour l'enseignement et au prix d'un louable effort, parvinrent à réparer les erreurs d'auparavant et à pousser à grands pas le développement de la nouvelle marche de l'instruction primaire publique. Cette Commission fut bientôt supprimée mais son oeuvre fut la base fondamentale des nouveaux plans nationaux et municipaux.d'éducation décrétés par des gouvernements postérieurs.
Une de ses premières réussites uniformistes futcelle-ci: obtenir aux maîtres de toucher la paie - y compris les arriérés - que l'on devait aux maîtres des Conseils de Quartier et des Ecoles Royales de la Capitale.

Le 24 Mars 1822 la Commission publia les points principaux de son programme d'action. Dans le procès-verbal de la séance de ce jour-là on affirme:

--- " l'éducation gratuite est á la charge de la Municipalité et, en son nom, de la Commission d'Education."

---"le règlement de l'Assemblée de Charité, du 21 Février 1816, en ce qui concerne ses facultés, est disparu en même temps que l'Assemblée."

~~111~~"il y aura des examens publics au commencement du mois de Juin."

--- " on paiera 200 ducats aux maîtres dits royaux, de même qu'aux autres maîtres du Conseil; et aussi les loyers des appartements pourvu qu'ils ne surpassent la somme de deux cents ducats annuels." (5)

Parfois ils poussèrent les autorités supérieures. Par exemple: au mois de Juin 1822 ils s'adressèrent au Parlement, le priant et l'exhortant à approuver avant la fin de la Législature le Règlement pour les Ecoles des Premières Lettres" qui avait été présenté par la Direction Générale dEtudes du Royaume. (6)

Son activité uniformiste était sans bornes. Nous le constatons dans les conclusions approuvées à la séance du 8 Juin 1822 où l'on régla de nouveau toute une série de questions reliées à l'enseignement public. Dans le procès-verbal de ce jour-là, publié la semaine suivante, nous lisons: " la Commission, après avoir approuvé et considéré les différentes branches de l'enseignement primaire, et pour parvenir à la rendre uniforme en faveur de plus grands progrès des élèves et pour qu'ils ne manquent pas des outils nécessaires pour un enseignement meilleur, accorde".. ( nous résumons):

1.- On donnera deux réaux pour écrire et un demi pour lire, à chacun des 62 maîtres de Madrid.

2.- chaque maître recevra 15 réaux pour de l'eau.

3.- en plus de lire, on apprendra à écrire et les quatre règles aux fillettes. (7)

4.- Toutes les écoles, aussi bien de garçons que de filles, qui surpassent les 25 élèves, auront un maître ou maîtresse répétiteur; le premier percevra trois réaux par jour; les deuxièmes, deux réaux.

5.- On paiera les arriérés aux Maîtres de l'Assemblée de Charité, car "le bruit court" que quelques uns d'entre eux remplissent leur charge "gracieusement".

6.- Pour le moment, on mettra les enseignes dans les Ecoles à la place de celles qu'on a enlevées, d'après l'instruction suivante: ECOLE PUBLIQUE DE PREMIERE EDUCATION DE GARCONS OU DE FILLES DU QUARTIER DE... avec les armoiries de Madrid." (8)

Il est vrai que l'uniformité était une caractéristique très typique de la politique des constitutionalistes, mais il est autant vrai que la Commission voulut mettre en pratique un programme d'éducation très en avance , ou tout au moins en accord avec les idées progressistes de l'époque. Nous en avons une preuve dans la question d'apprendre à ecrire et les quatre règles aux fillettes, ce qui égalait leur curriculum à celui des garcons, De même, le fait de chercher un maître répétiteur pour chaque 25 élèves.

Par contre, il parait qu'ils nónt pas tellement réussi dans les questions économiques. Un exemple: au mois de Juin 1822 plusieurs maîtres firent parvenir leurs plaintes à la Commission au sujet de l'allocation du matériel scolaire. Dans une des représentations il y a un paragraphe très intéressant qui nous permet de connaître les frais du matériel scolaire ainsi que quelques uns des livres à l'usage:

> "Même supposant que le mois n'ait que 20 jours de travail et que chaque enfant n'écrive pas plus d'une demi-feuille par jour, au bout des 20 jours il aura employé 20 feuilles, ce qui - à un sou - fait 20 sous; et tout au moins deux plumes à un sou, ça fait 12 sous; donc, il ne reste que 5 sous... et quel est le maître qui n'est pas obligé de fournir à l'enfant: de l'encre, de la craie, du papier blanc, la Grammaire, la Constitution, le Catéchisme de Ripalda, Fleury et d'autres livres élémentaires pour l'enseignement?" (9)

A la fin, la Municipalité accorda de donner à chaque maître trois réaux par enfant pour écrire, et un pour lire.

La question des compétences fut vraiment une situation problématique pour la Commission, par rapport aux Assemblées paroissiales. De fait, il s'agissait d'un affrontement entre des organismes de l'Ancien Régime et ceux du nouveau. Au fond, c'était un problème nettement idéologique qui manifestait une fois de plus le procès de sécularisation initié par la société espagnole de l'époque.

Descriptivement, il arriva ce qui suit: Pendant l'été de 1822, les Assemblées paroissiales de la Cour firent tomber incessamment leurs plaintes sur les Municipalités, les accusant de ne pas leur permettre de participer dans le gouvernement des écoles, ce qui, à leur avis, était une fonction qui leur appartenait. Elles disaient s'appuyer dans le législation alors en vigueur, laquelle présentait une contradiction sur ce point, entre un article de la Loi de Bienfaisance et un autre de la Constitution. L'article 321 de la Constitution disait que les Municipalités auraient en charge le soin de toutes les Ecoles de Premières Lettres, de même que de tout autre établissement qui fut payé avec les fonds du Commun. Et l'article 21 de la Loi Organique de Bienfaisance disait que les Assemblées paroissiales soignerait l'enseignement primaire et s'occuperait de la vaccination des enfants pauvres.

Après beaucoup d'affaires, de séances et de controverses, la Commission d'Education de la Municipalité parvint à résoudre la situation à la lumière de ce qu'ils considéraient comme étant la lettre et l'esprit de la Constitution, loi fondamentale par dessus toutes. Ainsi donc, et pour clarifier les fonctions respectives, ils redigèrent une sorte de Règlement, qui apparut le 10 février 1823, et qui embrassait les quatre points suivants:

1.- les Assemblées paroissiales doivent visiter et convaincre les parents pour qu'ils envoient leurs enfants à l'école.
2.- ces Assemblées veilleront à ce que les enfants soient propres dans leur tenue, et qu'ils ne fassent pas de fautes de parole ou d'action.

3.- elles veilleront à ce que le maître n'emploie pas des châtiments interdits par la Loi, à ce qu'il n'emploie pas les enfants comme étant des valets, et à ne pas donner préférence aux enfants riches. Si les Assemblées perçoivent de telles conduites, elles doivent avertir l'Inspecteur du Quartier correspondant.

4.- chaque Quartier nommera un individu qui s'occupera directement des enfants. (10)

## L'ECOLE DE NOTRE DAME DU PORT

La Commission, en plus des travaux administratifs, économiques et de contrôle, réalisa aussi d'autres activités parmi lesquelles la création d'une Ecole gratuite a été la plus remarquable. J'estime que c'est la première école créée par une Municipalité Constitutionnelle à Madrid. Ce fut l'Ecole de Notre Dame du Port, sise sur le rivage du Manzanares.

Le 6 Septembre 1822 les Maires de Quartier des alentours du District du Palais demandèrent sa construction. Un mois après, le 22 Octobre, la Municipalité, convaincue de sa nécessité, ordonna l'établissement de cette Ecole, dans une chambre deshabitée dans l'ermitage de Notre Dame du Port ( l'ermitage artistique construite par Pierre de Ribera en 1718 et qui se conserve de nos jours.) Cette Ecole vint á remplir un besoin qui se faisait sentir depuis longtemps, car les femmes lavandières du Manzanares tenaient leurs enfants tout á fait abandonnés.

D. TOMAS DE MARES Y VILLENA fut nommé maître de cette école-là; justement il venait de demander au mois de septembre d'avoir une école à la capitale. Mares avait été maître dans un village de la province de Madrid et avait quitté sa première école pour lutter en faveur du régime constitutionnel; il accomplit sa mission en toute dignité, ce qui lui permit d'apporter des renseignements et des recommendations prestigieux. Au mois d'Octobre 1822 il fut nommé " Maître de première éducation d'enfants de tout le rivage du Manzanares".

L'école fut ouverte le 15 Décembre 1822. Cette même semaine eut lieu son inauguration, avec l'asistance de plusieurs personnalités et du plein de la Commission d'Education; le Maire D. Miguel Makera présida tous les actes. Nous pouvons mesurer l'importance de la fête d'inauguration par la somme de ses frais: 506 réaux (11).

Le salaire de Tomás de Mares était de 200 ducats,d'après les ordres de Monsieur le Maire. Il fut payé depuis la date du Ier. novembre 1822, c'est à dire, un mois avant l'ouverture de l'école. Cependant, le maître se montra mécontent de la somme qu'on lui avait désignée comme attribution vu qu'il jugeait que son poste était de plus grande importance que celui des autres 62 maîtres de Madrid. Par conséquent, au mois de mai 1823, il éleva une très forte plainte au Conseil Général, lui demandant de façon presque impérieuse de lui accroître le salaire. Les troubles politiques pendant l'été de 1823 qui mirent fin au régime constitutionnel et déclanchèrent sa persécution saignante, ne permirent pas de prononcer un jugement sur la demande de Mares.

Nous avons connaissance du matériel dont fut douée cette école, ce qui nous permet d'apprécier la dotation d'un établissement gâté, à l'époque. Mais nous ne pouvons pas inclure la relation de ce matériel à cause des limites du travail que nous présentons. (12)

ANNOTATIONS

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(3).- DESDEVISES DU DEZERT, G.- *L'Espagne de l'ancien Régime.* T. II: La richesse et la civilisation, pp. 172. Paris, Société Française d'imprimerie et librairie, 1904.

(4).- GIL DE ZARATE, A.- *De la instrucción pública en España.* Madrid, Imprenta Colegio sordomudos, 1855. Tomo I, pp. 245.

(5).- ARCHIVO HISTORICO DE LA VILLA (Madrid). Corregimiento: Sección 1ª, legajo 97, nº 127.

(6).-ARCHIVO HISTORICO DE LA VILLA. Secretaría: Sección 2ª, legajo 371, nº 18.

(7).- Le souligné est à nous.

(8).- ARCHIVO HISTORICO DE LA VILLA. Corregimiento: 1, 97, 127.

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(10).- ARCHIVO HISTORICO DE LA VILLA. Secretaría: sección 2ª, legajo 334, nº 5.

(11).- ARCHIVO HISTORICO DE LA VILLA. Secretaría: sección 2ª, legajo 334, nº 21.

(12).- Sur matériel scolaire, textes et organisation en général durant l'époque en question, on peut consulter mon oeuvre: *Política escolar de España en el siglo XIX* (1808-1833). Madrid, C. S. I. C., 1970.

# Bollettino

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# COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN THE SWISS CANTON OF ZURICH FROM 1798 TO 1859. IDEAS AND REALITY

Fritz-Peter Hager

Switzerland is even now a federation of several political communities or states, called "cantons", which have even in our days a relatively great independance in conceiving and shaping their cultural life and their systems of education. So one can expect that the introduction of compulsory education, its development and its consequences takes place and can best be studied in the case of a singular Swiss canton. This is indeed so, with one important exception, as we shall see.

We are concerned in this paper with the case of the Swiss canton of Zürich, and our main interest lies in the years between 1798 and 1859, because this period allows to study the origin and the development of compulsory education as an idea and in reality in a particularly interesting context. In these years the influence of the ideas of European, especially French enlightenment on the political and cultural situation in Switzerland begins to be evident and begins to have most important practical and political consequences.

If we speak of compulsory education in this paper we mean education for all men introduced and propagated by the state and the political community with the reflexion that only if all men are educated, they can realize their human rights and do their duties as citizens. To study the introduction and development of compulsory education of this character the years between 1798 and 1859 are in the case of the Swiss canton of Zürich the best period of time, because in these years compulsory education has been officially introduced and developed in the political context mentioned above.

In 1798 the territory of the old Swiss confederation has been invaded by French troups. This French occupation has led to the establishment of a central government and of a new democratic republic, which replaced the old political system of confederated states, conceived mainly as oligarchies dominated by a leading class of patricians or influencial citizens. The new central government of the so-called "Helvetic Republic" was mainly formed by Swiss personalities who were, however, under strong French influence. The constitution of the new republic was inspired by the ideas of the French revolution and shaped after the model of the French directorial constitution. So, one is not surprised that the idea of a universal education of all men has first been officially proclaimed and discussed within the political context of the "Helvetic Republic".

Our purpose therefore is in this paper to delineate first the concept of compulsory education as conceived by the important authors about education representative for the ideas of the French revolution on this subject (e.g. Condorcet). Then we have to show, how this conception of compulsory education can be found again in the texts and projects of the leading personalities who had the charge to establish a new system of education in the Helvetic Republic. These ideas on compulsory education have only been formulated in the form of legal prescription after the constitution of the Helvetic Republic has been modified in the act of "Mediation", with which Napoleon himself (then first consul of the French Republic) tried to find a synthesis between the new progressive ideas of a centralized Republic and the old federal structures of Switzerland. We have to show consequently in our paper, what the conceptions and ideas of compulsory education laid down in laws and legal regulations were during the time, when Switzerland was ruled by the Act of Mediation (1802-1815).

After the fall of Napoleon in Switzerland as elsewhere in Europe the conservative reaction began to dominate again. A new constitution was established 1815 and brought back the decentralized system of the old Swiss confederation as well as the old social privileges and the old forms of aristocratic political government in the several cantons. This meant no further progress for the idea of compulsory education of the people.

This idea gained a new importance and influence only when, as a consequence of the July revolution in France 1830, political liberalism came to power in several Swiss cantons. Especially in Zürich political change was realized relatively early: 1831 the period of "regeneration" began with a new constitution and the spirit of political liberalism had an immediate influence on the reestablishment of a new system of education including the idea of compulsory education. This new, libeal system of education was regulated by the law concerning school and education 1832 (Unterrichtsgesetz). The era of political liberalism in Zürich lasted from 1831 to 1839.

It was interrupted by the return of conservative rule in the years from 1839 to 1845. From 1845 on political liberalism was reestablished and this opened the way to the development of the foundation laid down in the era of "regeneration". This is true also for the system of education. A new law concerning school and education, published 1859, brought emendations and completions to the law of 1832. Our intention in the last section of this paper is to show, in what sense the idea of compulsory education has been understood and conceived theoretically and realized practically in the era of political liberalism in Zürich.

The idea of compulsory education, as it has first been conceived in Switzerland by representatives of the Helvetic Republic (1798-1803), has its origin in the European and especially French philosophy of enlightenment and its reflexions on political and educational reform. We therefore have to study these ideas in choosing one typical example of this conception, in order to find out, whether and (if yes) in what sense similar ideas formulated and published during the Helvetic Republic in Switzerland are in agreement with the European (and especially French) trend of thinking.

The most important document of a conception of public and democratic instruction inspired by the ideas of enlightenment is undoubtedly the report to the National Assembly on proposed reforms in education "Rapport et projet de décret sur l'organisation générale de l'instruction publique", by Condorcet. In this document the general motives and reasons,which the philosophy of enlightenment has to give for the establishment of compulsory education, become most evident. It has to be noted, that this report, first published in 1792, has been worked out in view of a direct political realization of its ideas.

The goal of public education and instruction is in the view of Condorcet the perfection of mankind, and this means the development of human faculties and abilities on all fields and in every regard, which leads to the satisfaction of the fundamental needs of man. Public education and instruction enables men to know their fundamental rights as human beings and to know at the same time their essential duties as citizens. Public education and instruction helps to prepare men for every kind of professional activity and social service, it facilitates the way to personal happiness and welfare, but at the same time teaches men to serve the common interest of society. All these aspects of education and of the goal of education show that public education must be extended to all human beings and to every citizen. All men have the right to be educated and instructed by the state and the political community; public education and instruction makes it possible that the theoretical equality guaranteed by the constitution is transformed into real equality in every day's life. All men on the other hand have the duty to be educated and instructed by the political community, because only if they accept and undergo public education and instruction they can become useful members of society.

Education must by all these reasons be universal and as complete as possible. The fundamental education concerning the elements of knowledge and morality must be the same for everybody. Fundamental and elementary instruction, which by its nature can be extended to all men, must be given to all men and must be compulsory for every citizen. So instruction and education must become universal and must be extended to all citizens. The intention of those public men, who reorganize public education and instruction must be to extend it as much as possible to every citizen and to surmount as much as possible financial or geographical obstacles to this purpose. Public education and instruction is, by the way, not only universal in that sense, that all men and all citizens must be educated, but also in that sense that it must comprehend all human knowledge and even in that sense, that all ages of human life must be concerned with education and instruction.

That this conception of compulsory education for all men and citizens is profoundly inspired by the philosophy of the enlightenment, becomes evident, when Condorcet speaks about the essential content of education and instruction even on the level of the primary schools.

The first truths of science must precede their applications in these schools. The declaration of human rights and the French constitution must be essential subjects of public instruction and education, but men shall not believe in them as if they were descended from heaven like the bible or other documents of revelation. The declaration of rights, which informs men about both their rights and their duties with regard to society,and the constitution, which must be protected by the citizens with their lives, are according to Condorcet nothing more than the product of a combination of those axioms and principles, which are innate to human mind and nature and the truth of which can be demonstrated by public instruction and education. The first truths of all science and the first principles of moral law can be and must be recognized by every reasonable man. Education therefore must be compulsory, because only through reason and education freedom in the moral, the juridical and the political sense can be realized.

So it is obvious that the reasons and arguments for the general introduction of compulsory education are laid down in those conceptions of education which have been developed by philosophers of the French enlightenment and which have had an immediate influence on the reorganisation of the political community and its culture during the French revolution. Besides Condorcet, other authors have defended this conception of compulsory public education of all citizens (e.g. Babeuf, Talleyrand and the most radical of all: Lepeletier).

We refer here to the French philosophy of enlightenment and to its arguments for the compulsory public education, because the discussion about compulsory education (and about the reorganization of the school system in general) in the Helvetic Republic was certainly inspired by these French ideas and conceptions of the philosophy of enlightenment.

The central government of the Helvetic Republic (as in France at that time it was called "directory") had its authority only because French troups had occupied the territory of the old Swiss confederation and had transformed it 1798 in a democratic republic. The constitution of this new republic was conceived and worked out according to the political principles of the French Revolution. Article 4 of this constitution made it explicit, that security and enlightenment were the two essential foundations of public welfare and that enlightenment was more important than economic prosperity. The fundamental change, which the new republic brought with it in matters of education, was certainly, that now the state, the political community as a whole recognized education and instruction as one of its own important tasks, whereas in the era of the Ancient Régime in Switzerland education had been mainly under the protection of the church and lived besides that by private or particular initiative. With the new idea of political equality of all citizens being with the human rights the ideological basis of the Helvetic Republic, public education and instruction, by which the state informed the citizens about their rights and their duties, began to be necessary or even unavoidable and to be recognized as such.

As a consequence of these considerations the Helvetic Republic established a ministry for arts and sciences and Philipp Albert Stapfer, minister since the 2nd of May 1798 had the task to reorganize the school system in the Helvetic Republic in the spirit of an enlightened public education. The government of the Helvetic Republic, the directory, had the intention to regulate the whole school system and its reorganization by a law ("Unterrichtsgesetz"). Stapfer had to work out a project for this new law, the directory discussed about it and sent it with a message to the legislative assembly, the "Great Council". The planned law on school and education has never become reality. The project of this law was discussed by the legislative assembly, then sent back to a parliamentary committee for further consultation, and after several months, it was discussed again, seriously modified and finally rejected. But we have the text of this project and especially the text of the message, with which the directory sent it to the legislative assembly. This message is in his ideas, arguments and reflexions very informative about the spirit and mentality, in which the Helvetic Republic planned to reorganize the school system and to establish a system of compulsory public education.

It is of immediate interest to the subject of our present paper to summarize some of the main ideas of this message, because these reflexions show that the establishment of a system of compulsory public education was planned by the Helvetic Republic and they show at the same time that the arguments for compulsory public education in this message are very similar to those which we found in the report of Condorcet to the national assembly in France.

We mention here only those ideas and thoughts of the message, which are important in our special context: A political community, which by its constitution guarantees equal rights to all citizens and makes political and social positions accessible to everybody, must by definition, i.e. by its interior structure and nature be interested in the expansion of useful knowledge among all citizens and in the moral perfection of the national character of the whole people. In countries, where only a few families have political rights and political authority and pretend to be the guides and guards of all other people, there it's comprehensible if they do not care for public instruction and public education of the people, but try rather to avoid it. But in a democracy like the Helvetic Republic, where everybody can reach the highest political positions, there public education and instruction must be of the greatest importance, it must be compulsory. Especial attention is paid by the message in question to the improvement of the elementary education and instruction of the people. This section of public education has been neglected, before the Helvetic Republic was established. Primary schools are in bad condition almost everywhere in Switzerland. In some places there are no school-buildings at all, in others they are badly equipped and not made for the purposes of instruction and education.

The intention of the whole plan to reorganize the school system of the Helvetic Republic is summarized, when our text says: The legislative assembly is asked to establish a compulsory public instruction and education which is extended to all classes of society. The goal of this public education and instruction shall be to teach every citizen to understand his rights and his duties in order to exercise and to practise them as well as possible. And on the other hand public education and instruction has to prepare each citizen to find and to exercise a profession suitable to his qualities, which makes him useful for his fellow citizens and enables him to earn his living by labour.

As we have seen, this project of law and the message with which it was accompanied, have not been realized in the first years of the Helvetic Republic. Only after the modification of the Helvetic Constitution by the Mediation Act of Napoleon himself a new law concerning school and education was established 1803. The political situation during the first years of the Helvetic Republic was too unstable, too many insurrections and the military reactions to these exhausted the economic resources of the country, so that there was not much time and money left for the improvement of the concrete situation of school and education.

In the canton of Zürich the school system and the elementary education in schools at that time was regulated by a law concerning schools at the countryside ("Landschulordnung"), dating from 1778. This law had been established before the revolution 1798, but it is already influenced by ideas of the enlightenment and it is the first law concerning school and education, which conceives in the canton of Zürich elementary education as being compulsory for everybody. The motivation for sending children to school is in this law predominantly religious. Parents are responsible to God himself and will have to justify themselves at the Last Judgement on whether they have or have not sent their children to school.

The authorities of the Helvetic Republic could even during the years, when there was no law of school and education being created in the new revolutionary spirit, rely in the canton of Zürich on the old law from 1778. But of course this law was in the Helvetic Republic interpreted in the new revolutionary spirit and in the light of the ideas of the French Revolution. So the supreme authority in matters of education in the Helvetic Republic, the so-called "Council of Education" ("Erziehungsrat"), could in a proclamation of March 1802 say that every citizen without any exception is obliged by the state and has the duty to send his children to the official public schools in a regular way. Certain punishments were the consequence in cases of negligence or disobedience, but nevertheless a complete realization of the idea of compulsory education during the first years of the Helvetic Republic has not been possible.

With the Act of Mediation Napoleon restituted in December 1802 partly the autonomy of the several Swiss cantons and the federalistic structure of the Swiss confederation. Zürich had again his own cantonal constitution (which had to be worked out by an own governmental commission). This constitution didn't say anything about school and education. But before the background of this new relative autonomy of the canton of Zürich the establishment of laws concerning school and education became possible. In 1803 the legislative body of the canton of Zürich (the Great Council) issued a "Law concerning the organization of the system of school and education and of the authorities being in charge with the supervision of this system" (June 1803) and two other laws in connection with the first one (December 1803). The introduction of the first law shows, that it is inspired by the same ideas of compulsory public education as Stapfer's project of law and the concomitant message of 1798.

This introduction to the law of June 1803 says, that education and instruction of the future generations (with the aim of domestic and civil virtue) are indispensible for the preservation of the public welfare and that they are among the most important tasks of the political community. The accomplishment of this fundamental task cannot be left to accidental circumstances or to the arbitrary actions and to the unequal possibilities of individual citizens and their private initiative.

The accomplishment of the fundamental task of education and instruction belongs to the political community and to its general forces and common resources. To accomplish the political task of education and instruction a civil authority must be established, which has to provide for compulsory public education (and which must be anxious that the children of all citizens can obtain a good education and instruction).

To this program the practical reality corresponded only in an imperfect way: The authorities did everything to prevent people from leaving the children at home. The general rule was that children had to go to school at the age of 6. From 6 to the age of 12 they had to attend the so-called "daily school" (Alltagsschule). After they had left this elementary school they had to attend courses of repetition up to the age of 16. The authorities tried to control the results of learning by examinations. The attendance of the primary school was compulsory. School teachers had to control the attendance and to remind those parents who were negligent in sending their children to school of their duty, which was formulated by law. In many cases poverty was the reason for not sending the children to school. And so the whole system which had to control school attendance (different kinds of warnings on different degrees of the hierarchy of authorities, lists of absences etc.) was not always efficient.

The era of the Mediation Act in Switzerland (1803-1814) was, generally spoken, an era of pedagogical reform. Pestalozzi was only one of several authors who proposed new ideas on education and instruction. Many attempts were made to improve the system of elementary school teaching. But when after the fall of Napoleon 1815 the influence of the European restauration began to become more and more important on the whole territory of Switzerland, when the old Swiss confederation was reestablished with its federalism and its political and cultural conservatism, then there was little hope for any improvement of the elementary and compulsory education of the people. The period of the conservative reaction 1815 - 1830 in Switzerland as a whole and especially in the canton of Zürich was a period of stagnation on the field of the elementary and compulsory education of the people.

New impulses for a comprehensive realization of the idea of compulsory education are given again with the victory of political liberalism in the canton of Zürich in 1831. The political constitution of 1831 saw in the people the sovereign of the new political community. Liberation of the people was the leading idea of this constitution and of political liberalism in general. But the founding fathers of political liberalism in Zürich were well aware that liberation of the people was possible only through education. So one can understand that the general reform of the school system was for them of decisive importance.

Article 20 of the new liberal constitution of the canton of Zürich, which was accepted in March 1831, said that it is the duty of the people and of his representatives to care for the education of the young; and one of the most important texts of the political movement of liberalism, which prepared the new constitution, the so-called "Memorial" of Uster, called the improvement of the school system a decisive task for the movement of liberalism.

The most important result of the movement of political "regeneration" in matters of education is the new law concerning school and education of September 1832. The law as it was finally accepted and published is the work of several personalities, but one man had a decisive influence on form and content of this law: It was Ignaz Thomas Scherr, a German immigrant, who after practical activities as teacher (in a home of the blind) became gradually more and more acquainted with the primary school level in the canton of Zürich and who, after having edited certain criticisms of the status quo of the elementary schools,worked out a first project for the law on school and education, as far as primary and elementary schools were concerned by it. The essential ideas of the project have been confirmed in and by the law, and so we can concentrate here on mentioning those passages and ideas of the project, which are important to the context of our paper.

The goal of education on the level of the primary schools is, according to Scherr, to educate children of all classes of the people to human persons who are mentally active and morally good and useful as citizens. Important for the subject of our paper is especially, that the new law on education expects that all classes of the people are educated: Education must be compulsory for everybody. The principles of education must be the same for all children. Differences of social position and economic wealth of the parents, differences between town and country shall not have any influence on the education in the primary schools. All children are to be brought by education up to the same level of culture.

Several measures, which are mentioned in the new law on school and education, are especially conceived to guarantee the comprehensive realization of the principle of compulsory education. The system of control of school attendance was carefully elaborated, punishments for unexcused and long absences were fixed as well as several types of admonitions and warnings by different authorities, and child labour in factories before the ninth year of age was prohibited. The introduction of compulsory text-books for school-children served the same general purpose to realize compulsory education.

The law on school and education of September 1832 gave to the primary or elementary school in the canton of Zürich a form and structure, which lasted for many decades. As we have seen earlier, the era of political liberalism in Zürich was interrupted 1839-1845 by a conservative interregnum, and it was the return of political liberalism 1845, which in the long run brought the new law on school and education of the year 1859. This new law is characterized by a more systematical conception of the whole school system and by some emendations with regard to the law of 1832. On the field of compulsory education the law of 1859 doesn't contain anything new on principle. The importance of the law of 1859, which was valid till 1899, was, that compulsory education was now fixed by law for many years, in a form, which for this era of cultural and political development can be valued as rather progressive.

On the level of the Swiss confederation as a whole it was not the first liberal constitution of 1848, but only its revised form of the year 1874, which declared primary education as compulsory and as a task of the state (i.e. of every canton).

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## SUMMARY

The paper wants to show, that the idea of compulsory public education as fundamental task of the political community, the state, which has its origin in the political theory of some enlightened authors of the French Revolution, was adopted by the leading personalities of the Helvetic Republic and again by the founding fathers of political liberalism in the Swiss canton of Zürich. Introduction and development of compulsory education in the canton of Zürich are studied. Ideas and reality are confronted.

# LA REPROCLAMATION DE L'INSTRUCTION OBLIGATOIRE, A GENEVE, AU XIX$^e$ SIECLE: DU REFUS DE 1842 A L'ACCEPTATION DE 1872

## Charles Magnin

Cette communication est une étude de cas limitée au seul XIXème siècle genevois. Elle constitue une première esquisse du processus au terme duquel le parlement de la république et canton de Genève inscrivit une fois de plus dans ses lois l'obligation de s'instruire. Déjà plébiscité en 1536 dès le début de la Réforme protestante, puis à nouveau après la Révolution genevoise de 1792, ce principe ne sera réadopté, au XIXème siècle, qu'en 1872. Mais on s'était remis à en parler au moins dès 1840, et en 1842 la question figure en bonne place dans les débats de l'assemblée constituante consécutive à une émeute populaire survenue à la fin de l'année précédente.

### 1847: l'instruction obligatoire n'est pas jugée indispensable à la démocratie

Ayant restauré le suffrage "universel", la Constituante de 1842 voit un député radical lui proposer de proclamer, pour cette raison même, une obligation de s'instruire entendue comme l'obligation d'acquérir d'une manière ou d'une autre - dans les écoles de l'Etat, dans les écoles privées protestantes ou catholiques ou grâce au préceptorat - un minimum d'instruction:

> "Quant à l'instruction primaire, je crois qu'il est d'utilité publique de la rendre obligatoire; en effet, l'instruction du peuple amène sa moralité, et la moralité entraîne le bien-être. En outre, nous avons maintenant le suffrage universel, c'est là une arme puissante qu'il serait dangereux de confier à des hommes qui ne sauraient pas s'en servir; il est nécessaire de donner aux citoyens l'instruction qui leur manque pour connaître leurs droits et savoir les exercer. Il était triste aux dernières élections de voir la masse d'individus qui étaient forcés de faire écrire leurs bulletins par d'autres personnes."[1]

Cependant, en 1842, c'est la position conservatrice qui triomphe et la suggestion radicale reste pour lors sans suite. Majoritaires à la Constituante, les conservateurs rejetaient l'idée de l'obligation de s'instruire au nom d'un argument type dont les deux derniers éléments - la défense de la liberté individuelle et le haut niveau de scolarisation existant selon eux à Genève - resteront jusqu'en 1872 le maître propos des adversaires du nouveau principe:

> "1° L'état a déjà beaucoup fait pour l'instruction des citoyens, et vouloir qu'il la donne **gratuitement** à chacun, serait lui imposer une charge énorme. 2° On ne pourrait rendre cette instruction primaire obligatoire, sans violer la liberté individuelle, il faudrait un système d'inquisition tout à fait impossible. 3° La loi est inutile, car à un fort petit nombre près d'exceptions, tous les enfants vont à l'école."[2]

La nouveauté apportée en la matière par la Révolution radicale de 1846 est qu'à l'encontre de l'opinion précédente, elle proclame non seulement la laïcité, mais encore la gratuité de l'instruction primaire. Dès lors surgissait une question: les principes mêmes justifiant la gratuité de l'instruction primaire ne supposaient-ils pas de la rendre obligatoire? Si l'Etat démocratique avait tellement intérêt à ce que ses citoyens apprennent à faire un usage judicieux de leurs droits, ne fallait-il pas les contraindre à cet apprentissage? Nombreux à avoir été élus à la nouvelle Constituante, les conservateurs répondaient à cette question par la négative. Comme en 1842, ils justifiaient leur position en invoquant la liberté individuelle et le haut niveau d'instruction qu'il prêtait à Genève. Mais dans la Constituante de 1847, les conservateurs ne disposaient plus de la majorité. Les radicaux la détenaient. Qu'allaient-ils décider? Pour certains d'entre eux, rendre l'enseignement gratuit devait suffire à lui conquérir tout son public; pour d'autres, seule l'obligation garantissait ce résultat. Toutes tendances confondues, les radicaux s'accordent cependant sur l'importance, pour les institutions nouvelles, d'une bonne instruction du peuple, mais ils apprécient très différemment la mesure dans laquelle il convenait de respecter ici aussi la liberté des individus, c'est-à-dire la liberté des parents de faire instruire ou non leurs enfants. L'intervention du colonel Rilliet est typique de la position des radicaux partisans de l'instruction obligatoire et il n'est pas du tout le seul à se référer en la matière aux devoirs militaires:

> "La comparaison qu'on a faite entre le devoir d'être instruit et les devoirs militaires est singulièrement heureuse: lorsqu'on dit: tout Suisse est soldat et doit son bras à son pays; il faut ajouter: Tout Suisse doit être un citoyen éclairé, et se doit comme tel à la patrie.
>
> La consécration de l'instruction obligatoire ne sera point sans portée; il existe en effet des enfants auxquels l'instruction est offerte sans qu'il y ait rien de blessant pour eux et qui n'en profitent cependant pas; de telles susceptibilités cesseront lorque l'Etat, qui est le père de tout le monde, et qui, comme tel, doit des soins à ses enfants, saura prendre aussi l'autorité d'un père."[3]

Dans un premier temps, la Constituante de 1847 abonde dans ce sens et accepte le principe de l'instruction obligatoire. Cependant en troisième et dernier débat, comme le chef du département de l'instruction publique, le conseiller d'Etat radical Louis-Antoine Pons, elle change de position. Celui-ci explique alors son revirement d'une façon qui démontre qu'en l'occurrence aussi, pour une majorité de radicaux et de conservateurs la défense de la liberté individuelle devait l'emporter sur toute autre considération:

> "Quant à moi, je crois qu'il n'est qu'un seul moyen de forcer les parents à faire donner de l'instruction à leurs enfants, c'est que l'Etat forme un établissement d'instruction modèle.
>
> Nous ne devons point nous assimiler à cet égard à certains cantons suisses et aux Etats d'Allemagne. Ces derniers se

trouvent bien et mal de l'instruction obligatoire, laquelle emporte beaucoup de vexations, auxquelles notre population n'est pas habituée. Elle a, d'ailleurs, un penchant très connu à donner de l'instruction à ses enfants. Or, rendre cette instruction obligatoire, ce serait nous proposer une grande perturbation, lorsque nous serons appelés à faire la loi sur l'instruction primaire."[4]

Si âprement qu'on en ait débattu, la décision prise en 1847 paraîtra pendant longtemps tout à fait satisfaisante. Elle revient certes en discussion en 1862, mais c'est surtout parce que la Constituante de 1847 avait prévu qu'une révision de la Constitution devait avoir lieu tous les quinze ans. Les termes de ces nouveaux débats et leur issue sont rigoureusement identiques à ce qu'ils avaient été en 1847. Même scénario ou presque en 1868, à la différence que cette fois, les conservateurs sont au pouvoir. Leur position sur le sujet n'ayant pas varié, le refus de 1842 et de 1847 est aisément reconduit. Pourtant, quatre ans plus tard seulement, la décision bascule. Pourquoi?

## 1872: il faut rendre l'instruction obligatoire pour se protéger de l'Eglise catholique et du "vagabondage" des enfants de la population "flottante"

A travers les très nombreux débats qui recommencèrent dès 1870 et aboutirent, en 1872, à l'inscription de l'instruction obligatoire dans la loi, on saisit bien pour quelles raisons est abandonnée l'attitude libérale ayant prévalu en 1847. Elles se résument à deux arguments nouveaux qui prennent le pas sur ceux dont on avait usé en 1847, puis en 1862 et en 1868.

Dans les débats ayant abouti à la décision de 1872, la défense de la démocratie par l'instruction obligatoire cesse d'être évoquée en termes essentiellement généraux et l'on en vient, avec une insistance farouche, à désigner à la démocratie un ennemi presque unique:

l'Eglise catholique, la papauté. En effet, dans le **Mémorial du Grand Conseil** genevois de ces années-là, les déclarations dans ce sens abondent, de la part surtout d'une majorité de radicaux. Ces déclarations sont faites le plus souvent à l'occasion de la définition du contrôle des enseignements privés qui découlerait nécessairement de la proclamation de l'instruction obligatoire. Voici par exemple ce que dit à ce sujet le conseiller d'Etat Antoine Carteret lors de la présentation aux députés d'un projet de loi sur l'instruction publique émanant du Conseil d'Etat:

> "L'enseignement donné par les corporations religieuses n'est nullement propre à former des républicains dignes de ce beau nom. Ces congrégations, dans un pays comme le nôtre où l'Etat fait de si larges sacrifices pour qu'une bonne instruction se trouve à la portée de tous, ne peuvent pas avoir pour but de combler une lacune. Leur objectif, évidemment, n'est autre que de pouvoir mettre sur le cire molle des jeunes intelligences qui leur sont confiées, l'empreinte de la subordination du domaine civil à l'autorité de l'Eglise. Où cela peut mener, plus d'un peuple hélas! aujourd'hui peut nous le dire."[5]

Cependant, à l'instar ici de James Fazy, le leader de la Révolution de 1846, d'autres radicaux se firent à nouveau, et avec les mêmes arguments que depuis 1847, les défenseurs de la liberté individuelle et de la liberté d'enseignement:

> "Chez nous, au milieu de l'état d'avancement où nous sommes, décréter l'instruction obligatoire, c'est inscrire dans la loi un mot à peu près vide de sens, un mot qui, en réalité ne signifie rien (...). Je le déclare hautement: par le seul fait de la gratuité, notre instruction primaire est la première dans la Confédération et ce qui le prouve c'est que tous nos cultivateurs parlent français, tandis que, dans la Suisse allemande, les paysans en sont encore au patois (Hilarité). Au surplus, nous avons une Constitution; ce n'est pas à elle à

> s'arranger avec le mot dont on a si fort envie, mais au mot à s'arranger avec la Constitution qui consacre la liberté d'enseignement, et s'il se produit un cas de mauvais enseignement, vous n'avez le droit d'agir que d'après la rumeur publique. Les établissements particuliers sont-ils si inférieurs qu'on semble l'insinuer? Je ne le pense pas. En tout cas, des mesures préventives vous sont interdites de par la liberté, qui ne doit pas être un leurre."[6]

Du côté conservateur, l'on se montre aussi très modéré, voire très critique à l'égard de l'anti-catholicisme, et c'est le plus souvent avec une grande ferveur qu'on défend aussi la liberté individuelle et la liberté d'enseignement.

Mais dans ces années-là, un trouble supplémentaire s'installe également dans beaucoup d'esprits radicaux ou conservateurs. Une perception aiguë se fait jour d'une changement majeur survenu dans la composition de la population de la république. Les Genevois n'ont décidément plus l'impression d'être confortablement entre soi. Les nouveaux arrivants leur paraissent très nombreux et leur rapport à l'instruction tout autre. Les étrangers cherchent du travail pour eux et leurs enfants, ou des expédients, mais pas des écoles. Conservateurs ou radicaux, beaucoup redisent en substance ce que déclarait l'éminent naturaliste et député radical, Carl Vogt:

> "Vous figurez-vous donc être encore dans l'ancienne Genève, entourée de bastions et de fossés? Non, Messieurs, vous êtes dans la Genève nouvelle, ouverte à tous les courants bons ou mauvais qui viennent du dehors. Or, il faudrait cependant aviser à ce que les eaux troubles se purifient par l'instruction."[7]

Comment expliquer les deux nouvelles craintes - l'anti-catholicisme et la peur de l'étranger - qui apparaissent ici dans les débats et finissent par emporter la décision d'une majorité d'un Grand Conseil qui, pendant près de trente ans, s'était pourtant refusé à adopter le principe de l'instruction obligatoire? L'une et l'autre craintes étaient-elles plus ou moins fictives et destinées seulement à servir un durcissement anti-catholique qui était de toute manière déjà à l'oeuvre? Ou bien, au contraire, Genève vivait-elle alors effectivement des évolutions aussi marquées qu'une majorité de députés le disaient?

Voici quelques données statistiques tendant à fonder une première réponse à ces questions.

Entre 1850 et 1870, au fil de vingt ans d'une croissance démographique aussi forte que constante, la proportion des Genevois ne cesse de diminuer. En 1850, elle s'élève à 62%[8] pour une population totale du canton de 64'196 habitants. Les Confédérés ne représentent alors que 14,2% de la population et les étrangers 23,8%. En 1860, sur 82'876 habitants (soit 18'680 de plus qu'en 1850!), les Genevois ne sont déjà plus que 49,4% de la population, soit une diminution de 12,6% en dix ans! Les Confédérés, eux, passent alors à 15,9% (+ 1,7%), tandis que l'augmentation la plus forte est le fait de la population étrangère dont la proportion s'élève de 23,8% à 34,7%, soit de 10,9%. Enfin, en 1870, le canton de Genève compte 93'239 habitants, dont 43,4% de Genevois, 18,4% de Confédérés et 38,2% d'étrangers.

Que conclure de ces chiffres? S'ils devaient expliquer le vote de 1872, pourquoi n'avaient-ils pas eu le même effet dès les votes de 1862 ou 1868 puisque alors déjà les évolutions déplorées en 1872 étaient assurément massives? En alla-t-il ainsi parce qu'en 1872 un seuil est franchi qui ne l'avait pas été avant? Mon hypothèse est plutôt que l'aggravation du conflit politique récemment engagé entre Genève et l'Eglise catholique, autrement dit l'accentuation du **Kulturkampf** genevois, rendent alors visibles les changements quantitatifs précités. C'est pour cette raison qu'on réalise bien davantage en 1872 qu'auparavant que, provenant surtout de la France limitrophe, les étrangers sont pour la plupart catholiques. En effet, si au point de vue religieux un seuil qualititif et quantitatif avait été franchi, c'était bien avant 1870 puisqu'en 1850, le pourcentage des protestants était, à Genève, de 53,3% et qu'il n'était plus que de 48,3% en 1860 et de 46,8% en 1870.

Un raisonnement analogue à celui-ci, qui fait donc de l'anti-catholicisme de 1872 et par conséquent de l'instruction obligatoire qu'il motivait, une politique relativement indépendante de l'évolution du nombre des étrangers et des catholiques de Genève, ne saurait peut-être valoir pour le "vagabondage scolaire" également invoqué à l'appui de l'instruction obligatoire. Certes, celui-ci devait être déjà presque aussi fort en 1868 qu'en 1872, mais il est possible qu'il atteignit à cette dernière date une visibilité qu'il n'avait pas eue auparavant et qui en faisait désormais un problème. En tout cas, un fait est acquis, l'anti-catholicisme de 1872 disparaîtra presque complètement des débats relatifs à la nouvelle loi sur l'instruction publique adoptée en 1886, alors que les références au vagabondage scolaire et à la rue y seront relativement fréquentes, même si elles n'occupent pas le coeur d'une loi se souciant surtout d'orienter vers le développement industriel de Genève, un système scolaire dont on juge alors qu'à tous ses niveaux, il a beaucoup trop favorisé "le verbalisme". Comme on peut le voir dans les propos suivants de Georges Favon, le leader du nouveau radicalisme qui prendra bientôt complètement le pas sur celui de Carteret, c'est assurément avant tout dans cet état d'esprit industrialiste qu'on prolongera alors une première fois l'instruction obligatoire, mais de deux ans plutôt que des trois préconisés ici:

> "Messieurs, dans l'état actuel des choses, il est impossible d'exiger que les enfants de parents dont les conditions sont modestes aillent une année de plus à l'école. Mais en combinant ces deux éléments, à savoir : 1° que depuis l'âge de treize ans l'enfant doit, dans certains cas, être un aide pour sa famille et 2° qu'il est absolument nécessaire qu'il continue et complète son instruction; on peut arriver à d'excellents résultats. En effet, à l'âge de treize ans, l'enfant pourra entrer en apprentissage, mais il devra suivre des cours complémentaires jusqu'à 16 ans. Il faut en finir avec ces enfants qui oublient le plus souvent toute l'instruction primaire qu'ils ont reçue et qui n'apprennent pas même leur

profession convenablement, en sorte qu'ils deviennent ces déclassés que la première crise jette sur le pavé. Il faut combiner l'apprentissage et l'école complémentaire, afin d'obtenir des ouvriers capables, utiles à la société."[9]

Ainsi les justifications apportées à l'appui de l'instruction obligatoire ont-elles passablement varié au fil du XIXe siècle genevois. Elles ont été tour à tour proprement politiques, puis politico-religieuses et sociales. Longtemps victorieux, ses divers adversaires y ont en revanche toujours vu une atteinte à la liberté individuelle, et c'est, semble-t-il, devant un régime particulièrement autoritaire qu'ils ont fini par s'incliner. Cependant, quand cet autoritarisme fut défait, on n'abolit pas le principe qu'il avait imposé. Il continua à prévaloir et à s'étendre, mais cette fois avec des légitimations essentiellement économiques, la prospérité apparaissant désormais comme le nouveau garant de la stabilité politique. Mais, au-delà de ce changement d'accent persiste l'essentiel: servant à apprendre à travailler après avoir servi à apprendre à voter, l'instruction obligatoire servirait toujours le même maître: l'Etat démocratique et sa soif d'ordre. Contre l'individu? Mais au vrai, que dirait-on si on le prétendait?

## NOTES ET REFERENCES:

1. **Mémorial des séances de l'assemblée** constituante genevoise, Genève, 1842, tome II, pp. 1740-1741.
2. ibid., p. 1741.
3. **Mémorial des séances du Grand Conseil législatif** et constituant, Genève, 1847, tome II, p. 1795.
4. ibid., tome III, pp. 2611-2612.
5. **Mémorial des séances du Grand Conseil**, Genève, 1871, tome III, pp. 2183.
6. **Mémorial des séances du Grand Conseil**, Genève, 1872, tome II, p. 1560.
7. ibid., tome III, p. 2169.

8. Ce chiffre et tous les suivants sont tirés de Bairoch Paul et Bovée Jean-Paul, **Annuaire statistique rétrospectif de Genève**, Genève, 1986, pp. 15, 16 et 28.
9. **Mémorial des séances du Grand Conseil**, Genève, 1885, tome I, p. 470.

## RESUME

Cette communication est une étude de cas limitée au seul XIXème siècle genevois. Elle constitue une première esquisse du processus au terme duquel le parlement de la république et canton de Genève inscrivit une fois de plus dans ses lois l'obligation de s'instruire. Déjà plébiscité en 1536 dès le début de la Réforme protestante, puis à nouveau après la Révolution genevoise de 1792, ce principe ne sera réadopté, au XIXème siècle, qu'en 1872, après divers débats importants, en 1840 et 1842, en 1847, puis encore en 1862 et 1868. Au fil du siècle, les justifications apportées à l'appui de l'instruction obligatoire ont passablement varié. Elles ont été tour à tour proprement politiques, puis politico-religieuses et sociales. Longtemps victorieux, ses divers adversaires y ont en revanche toujours vu une atteinte à la liberté individuelle, et c'est, semble-t-il, devant un régime particulièrement autoritaire qu'ils ont fini par s'incliner. Cependant, quand cet autoritarisme fut défait, on n'abolit pas le principe qu'il avait imposé. Il continua à prévaloir et à s'étendre, mais cette fois avec des légitimations essentiellement économiques, la prospérité apparaissant désormais comme le nouveau garant de la stabilité politique. Mais au-delà de ce changement d'accent persiste l'essentiel: servant à apprendre à travailler après avoir servi à apprendre à voter, l'instruction obligatoire servirait toujours le même maître: l'Etat démocratique et sa soif d'ordre. Contre l'individu? Mais au vrai, que dirait-on si on le prétendait?

# TOWARDS COMPULSORY EDUCATION: THE SCHOOL REVIVAL MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

## Jurgen Herbst

The public schools of the United States go back to the public school revival of the pre-Civil War decades. Compulsory education, however, was introduced in Massachusetts not before 1852, and was enforced in all the states not until the 1930s. To understand its gradual acceptance nationwide, one needs to be aware of the forces that led to the spread of common schools across the country.

While the appointments in 1837 of Horace Mann as Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education and of Henry Barnard to the same post in Connecticut may be said to have marked the official opening of the public school revival in the United States, the concern with common schooling for all children of elementary school age had arisen in the larger cities of the East. There a growing number of youthful vagrants, petty criminals, orphaned and homeless children, many of them of immigrant parents, had caused consternation and fear among the settled families. Undisciplined, illiterate, without family ties and church affiliation, frequently unable to speak or understand the English language, these children threatened an orderly civic life and proved to be inefficient and unreliable as employees in shops, stores, or factories. The very diversity of ethnic background, the absence or strangeness of religious tradition, the variety of languages and dialects spoken, and the apparent crudity or simplicity of life-styles prompted many residents of the eastern cities to demand that these newcomers and their children be converted to the ways of the established citizenry.

One way to achieve this was to "civilize" the children of the newcomers in common schools. This, it was said, would also offer them opportunities to advance in society, opportunities that had been well established by earlier settlers who had followed Benjamin Franklin's advice to "a rising people" and had continued after their elementary training with attendance at a private academy and success in business or trade.[1] The public or common schools were to become gateways through which all competent Americans would pass on their way from poverty to riches. They provided the least expensive and most effective way of removing the threat of internal strife and chaos.

The most determined advocates of public education during the 1830s were the Whigs, a coalition of Americans deeply distrustful of the Jacksonian Democrats whom they accused of plundering the country and mismanaging its government. Though like the Democrats the Whigs, too, believed in laissez-faire economics, they were nonetheless committed to economic planning. Many of them supported Henry Clay and his neo-mercantilist "American System" of central banking, a high tariff, and internal improvements. They loathed Jackson for his war on the national bank, and they preferred to see the economy in the hands of conservative, respectable, sound businessmen like themselves.

Whigs, in short, viewed themselves as the proper element in a business society. Many of them belonged to Protestant families of long-established lineage in the United States. The advocacy of public education came to them naturally. They saw it as a perfect antidote to Jacksonian coarseness and rudeness. Schooling would guarantee that only the deserving ambitious poor would rise to fame and wealth and that those less well trained would keep their place in the supporting, lower ranks of the economic hierarchy. To the Whigs public schools would secure a stable society by permitting the greatest benefits and profits to go to those on the top while assuring a minimum of comfort and acceptance of one's lot to those on the bottom.

This did not mean that public education became exclusively the cause of the economically successful Whig businessman or professional. The gospel of the rising people appealed as much -- if not more -- to those who yet hoped to rise as to those who had already arrived. Thus labor supported the public school movement. Philadelphia workingmen proclaimed in 1830 that common schooling was a right to be enjoyed by every American. They resented private schools as "irresponsible institutions established by individuals from mere motives of private speculation and gain." In them, they said, "ignorance, inattention, and even immorality prevail ... among their teachers." They accused the colleges for holding on to a knowledge monopoly which "should be rendered, by legal provision, the common property of all classes." They maintained that a republic needed all of its citizens "alike instructed in the nature and character of their equal rights and duties..."[2] The workingmen wanted the public schools to educate their children and thus to open doors for them to all the opportunities the country had to offer.

The Whigs saw no reason to withhold their sympathy from labor. As they centered their attention on the economic benefits to be expected from public education, they sympathized and agreed with the spokesmen of labor who saw the schools as avenues for the social mobility of their young. But the social and economic advance of individual workingmen and their families was not the Whigs' chief concern. Their task was to persuade taxpayers -- and primarily the owners of prosperous business establishments and of factories -- to support the common schools even if they had no children of school age of their own or were unwilling to entrust their sons and daughters to the public schools. In Massachusetts Horace Mann relied upon the argument that the nation's welfare and prosperity rose and fell with the people's willingness to support the common schools. "An educated people," Mann wrote in 1846, "is a more industrious and productive people. Knowledge and abundance sustain to each other the relation of cause and effect. Intelligence is a primary ingredient in the Wealth of Nations." By the same token, vice and crime flowering in the absence of education "are not only prodigals and spendthrifts of their own, but defrauders and plunderers of the means of others..."[3] It was good business, if nothing else, for the industrialist and owner of property to invest their surplus in public education. Their tax dollars would help train an educated working force and accustom citizens of all walks of life to good order, moral discipline, regularity, punctuality, and reliability. Only a short-sighted or willful misunderstanding of their own advantage could tempt securely established property owners to vote against public education.

Once a public school system was in place, what did the Whigs consider to be its mission, and how was it to be accomplished? What concerns were foremost in the minds of school reformers like Horace Mann and Henry Barnard? There was near unanimity that the schools had to try to unify the people through a common education of all youngsters. They had to instill in Americans and to convert them to a shared endorsement of what were essentially Whig values -- a middle class morality centering on a sense of human decency and on what has become known as the Protestant work ethic, a bourgeois conception of economic security based on a commitment to hard work and the ownership of private property. Civil order, security of property, decency and gentility in inter-personal relationships among the members of a white, middle-class, and overwhelmingly Protestant citizenry -- these were the antidotes to anarchy and dissension. They were to be held up as values to be protected or, for those who did not fit the white, middle-class, Protestant ideal, to be accepted as given and normative. The schools were to implant them firmly throughout all classes of American society.

To translate these values into curricular terms priority was given to the teaching of the English language. The Whigs took their cue from Noah Webster and acknowledged a common language as the necessary condition for arousing a sense of national consciousness and culture. Educators were supported in this concern by poets and philosophers, political observers and ministers. Writers like James Fennimore Cooper and Ralph Waldo Emerson, a foreign commentator like Alexis de Tocqueville, and a Boston Unitarian clergyman like William Ellery Channing all joined in stressing the teaching of a common national language as the primary responsibility of the public schools. Without such a language America could not hope to contribute to the world's culture and science, let alone create a national life of its own. Horace Mann warned that "language is not only a necessary instrument of civilization, past or prospective, but it is an indispensable condition of our existence as rational beings..."[4] Noah Webster's spellers thus became the ubiquitous primers of America's young. They reigned supreme in the common schools.

Next to the creation of a common language, the propagation of a common faith was the common schools' greatest challenge. Mann saw the public schools as secular temples of a common-core or non-sectarian Protestant Christianity. In his Annual Report of 1848 he stated that he regarded as "eternal and immutable" the proposition "that no community will ever be religious without a Religious Education." The public schools were to be Christian schools, but they had to eschew denominational doctrines.

> Our system [Mann declared] earnestly inculcates all Christian morals; it founds its morals on the basis of religion; it welcomes the religion of the Bible; and, in receiving the Bible, it allows it to do what it is allowed to do in no other system, -- to speak for itself. But here it stops, not because it claims to have compassed all truth; but because it disclaims to act as an umpire between hostile religious opinions.[5]

Mann obviously believed that it was possible to teach Biblical religion in a non-denominational fashion. That, in fact, was the cornerstone of his contention. He endorsed this view all the more easily as it corresponded to the belief held by New England Unitarians that people of good will could avoid sectarian and denominational controversy. It was a belief which many Protestants found acceptable. It did not recommend itself to Catholics and non-Christians.

In 1844 Mann had received support for his defense of non-sectarian Christianity from the Supreme Court of the United States. Stephen Girard, founder of a college for orphans in

Philadelphia, had included in the college charter a provision that barred ministers and missionaries "of any sect whatsoever" from holding office in or being admitted to the college. The Court had found "nothing in the charter which is inconsistent with the Christian religion." Girard had explained his policies against men of the cloth in phrases that could easily have been seconded by Mann and applied to religious instruction in the schools. Girard had written:

> I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian contro= versy are so apt to produce; my desire is, that all the instructors and teachers in the College, shall take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars, the purest principles of morality, so that, on their entrance into active life, they may from inclination and habit, evince benevolence toward their fellow creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry, adopting at the same time, such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer.[6]

In a will such as this we can find expressed to perfection the sentiments that motivated Whigs to act as stewards of a common faith assumed to pervade and unite all classes of society.

A common language and a common faith, however, were not enough. Discipline to enforce, if need be, adherance to common values and standards of behavior was required as well. Public education was not only to be promoted as opportunity and right, but as obligation and duty as well. This was particularly true when Whigs considered the children of Irish immigrants who, they felt, had to be coerced to attend school. If left to the direction of their parents, a writer in The Massachusetts Teacher stated in 1851, they

> will be brought up in idle, dissolute, vagrant habits... Instead of filling our public schools, they will find their way into our prisons, houses of correction and almshouses. Nothing can operate effectually here but stringent legislation, thoroughly carried out by an efficient police;--the child must be gathered up and forced into school, and those who resist or impede this plan, whether parents or priests, must be held accountable and punished.[7]

The fear of disorder, chaos or anarchy prompted such sentiments and called for the truant officer and policeman to stand behind the classroom teacher.

Henry Barnard expressed the final link between the duty to attend school and the right to enjoy the benefits of American citizenship. Only the schooled American was to be a full-fledged citizen because, Barnard proclaimed,

> the law of self-preservation imperiously demands that political institutions which are embodied in written constitutions and laws, should not pass into the keeping of juries, witnesses, and electors who cannot write the verdict they may render or read the vote they may cast into the ballot box. The right of suffrage should be withheld from

> such as cannot give the lowest evidence of school attendance and proficiency.[8]

In the last analysis, then, for the Whigs schooling for all in a common language, a common faith, and common values was a requirement of citizenship. Without a common school they doubted whether there could be a common country and a united people. From such convictions it only followed that in time America's educators would call for compulsory education as a requirement of citizenship.

Notes:

1) See *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. by Leonard W. Labaree and Whitfield J. Bell, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959 etc.), III, 400-419; IV, 34-36, 101-108.

2) In John R. Commons, ed., *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (Cleveland: A. H. Clark, 1911), V, 94-107.

3) 10th Annual Report, in Cohen, ed., *Education in the United States: A Documentary History* (New York: Random House, 1974), II, 1097.

4) *2nd Annual Report* (Boston, 1838), pp. 40 and 43.

5) *12th Annual Report* (Boston, 1848), pp. 116-117.

6) In Henry W. Arey, *The Girard College and its Founder* (Philadelphia, 1876), p. 75.

7) Reprinted in Cohen, *op. cit.*, II, 997.

8) Reprinted in John S. Brubacher, ed., *Henry Barnard on Education* (New York, 1931), p. 276.

# SUMMARY

Although legislation in the individual states of the United States introducing compulsory education did not appear until the second half of the nineteenth century, arguments and enactments concerning the development of public schools foreshadowed the demand for compulsory education already during the century's first half. School officials felt that in the large cities of the East an immigrant population of diverse ethnic, linguistic, and religious backgrounds required public education to awaken a sense of nationality and community responsibility. Middle-class business interests, many of them having joined ranks in the Whig party, supported this demand as did representatives of some urban labor groups. Educational reformers committed the schools to the advocacy of middle-class values of thrift, industriousness, discipline, reliability - in short to the Protestant work ethic of bourgeois capitalism. The teaching of the English language and literature, of a non-sectarian Protestantism, and of disciplined behavior received primary attention. When finally literacy was proposed as a necessary requirement for the suffrage, the demand for compulsory school attendance followed as a natural consequence. Citizenship, so it was argued, required compulsory education.

# Bollettino

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# COMPEL A BARBAROUS PEOPLE TO CIVILITIE: THE ROOTS OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN AMERICA

L. Glenn Smith

Compulsory education (that is, systematic attempts that go beyond individual student or parental effort to provide for learning) is an old idea in the Western tradition. Charlemagne promoted it in the ninth century, and the concept of compulsory education received a dramatic boost during the Reformation. North American settlement, starting as it did in the late sixteenth century just as the Protestant and Catholic reform movements were reaching a zenith, certainly reflected the Reformation preoccupation with education. Indeed, compulsory *education*, in contrast with compulsory *attendance* (a largely nineteenth century development), was firmly imbedded in early American settlement. By 1609 it was apparent that the original plan of sending English adventurers to Virginia to load the boats with treasure was not going to work. There was no gold or silver to confiscate and no tractable natives to do the work. The only choice appeared to be permanent settlement--and that meant families. Families, in turn, required schools.

James I directed English bishops to raise money for "some churches and schools for the education of the children of those barbarians" in Virginia around 1618. The Virginia Company set aside ten thousand acres to help endow Henrico College. Plans for a grammar school were developed.[1] A noted Puritan schoolmaster wrote a treatise exploring how to organize schools in all the "ruder places," explaining in some detail how to "compel a barbarous people to civility" through a properly conducted pedagogy. He dedicated the book to those in charge of governing Ireland, Wales, Guernsey, Jersey, "and more specially to you, right Honorable and right Worshipful the Governor, Council and Company for Virginia, that planting in a right order, you may find a more happy growth, and increase, and evermore sound and lasting joy to your own souls." The author of the book was John Brinsley, a successful schoolmaster and noted author.[2]

## John Brinsley

When James I sent out his call for contributions, Brinsley was a clergyman and teacher whose fame in education rested on two foundations: (1) He had for several years been noted for his success as a grammar school teacher at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire, and (2) he had published (in 1612) Ludus Literarius (The Grammar School), a lengthy dialogue between two schoolmasters, Philoponus and Spoudeus. Philoponus, a successful teacher, explains to Spoudeus, his college roommate who is prematurely aged from spending his time in teaching a "poor country school," a "fruitless, wearisome, and unthankful office." Brinsley, who had prepared many scholars for university in "poor country schools," had Philoponus describe how

> all scholars of any towardliness and diligence may be made absolute Grammarians, and in every way fit for the university, by fifteen years of age and all this to be done with delight and certainty, both to masters and scholars, with strife and contention amongst the scholars themselves; without that usual terror and cruelty, which hath been practiced in many places, and without so much as severity amongst good natures.[3]

Apparently one or more of the governing interests of the Virginia Company invited Brinsley to write a treatise on schooling. The resulting manuscript passed the censors on 16 March 1620. It appeared in print two years later as A Consolation for our Grammar Schooles. Brinsley's attitude, which was quintessentially Puritan, found expression in four assumptions which he made explicit: (1) that the ultimate purpose of all education was moral (and antiRoman Catholic); (2) that a common curriculum (of classical authors built on a thorough knowledge of Latin and English with some Greek) was universally desirable; (3) that instruction should be available to all; and (4) that proper methods and organization would ensure success. Although specific changes occurred over time (e.g., the substance of the common curriculum), the assumptions themselves remain the cornerstones of American compulsory education today. A brief elaboration of each of these points follows.

### Morality the Basis of Instruction

Brinsley was part of a loosely defined group of continental and English antipapist reformers. Their numbers included (in England) John Dewey, Francis Bacon, Samuel Hartlib, John Milton, George Snell, (in Germany) Joachim Junge, Wolfgang Ratke, (in Sweden) Axtel Oxenstierna, (in Czechoslovakia) Johann Heinrich Alstead and John Amos Comenius. They approved most of the educational ideas of Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, John Huss, John Wycliffe, Johannes Sturm, Roger Ascham, John Cheke, and Desiderius Erasmus. Even before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648)--a series of battles involving Sweden, Denmark, France, Spain, and several German states and justified by religious differences--Protestant reformers were alarmed by reports of dramatic educational successes by the Jesuits. Beginning in the 1580s, the members of the Society of Jesus recognized that their involvement in educating youth was extensive and likely to grow. They became the first group in Western history to approach pedagogical issues through systematic experimentation and explicit, widescale teacher training.

Protestant reformers like Brinsley were disturbed at the Jesuits' success, which appeared to be based upon a combination of thorough linguistic knowledge, careful organization, courteous treatment of students, and use of games, competition, and dramatics in their schools.[4] "We are therefore the men," wrote Brinsley, "upon whom the flourishing of this our Canaan, doth very much depend. We cannot be ignorant," he continued, of

> how our enemies the Jesuits, not only in their seminaries, but also in their lesser schools, do bend their wits, to go beyond us in this very kind. Give me leave to put you in mind of that which was written to me, from an ancient acquaintance in the university, now sundry [several] years ago (28 October 1608) put more life into me in this business. The sum of it was this.
>
> "The Jesuits, the popish schoolmasters beyond the seas, do combine themselves together, and all, or at least many schools do read the same books at one time, and the same places, and do change every quarter, and set upon the school doors, the authors, place, lectures, exercises, every quarter newly printed, and for this they have great suite made unto them by the printers."
>
> And what is their purpose in seeking out the most excellent courses of getting most speedily all good learning? Surely their purpose is nothing else but by that their learning to outcountenance the sacred truth of that everlasting gospel, and to bewitch all with an opinion of their learning.

Many early American colonists feared the pope and the Jesuits, but they were even more disturbed by the welcoming barbarism of the ever present frontier. Connecticut was probably the first of the colonies to enforce a minimum standard of educational attainment in the late 1630s or early 1640s:

> Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular...benefit to any commonwealth, and whereas many parents and masters are too indulgent and negligent of their duty in that kind,
>
> It is therefore ordered by this Court and authority thereof, that the selectmen of every town, in the several precincts and quarters where they dwell, shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors, to see first, that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as not to endeavor to teach by themselves or others their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and knowledge of the capital laws, upon penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein; Also that all masters of families do once a week at least, catechise their children and servants in the grounds and principles of religion; and if any be unable to do so much, that then at the least they procure such children or apprentices to learn some short orthodox catechism, without book, that they may be able to answer to the questions that shall be propounded to them out of such catechisms by their parents or masters or any of the selectmen, when they shall call

> them to a trial of what they have learned in this kind. And further, that all parents and masters do breed and bring up their children and apprentices in some honest lawful [calling], labor or employment, either in husbandry, or some other trade profitable for themselves and the Commonwealth, if they will not nor cannot train them up in learning to fit them for higher employments. And if any of the selectmen, after admonition by them given to such masters of families, shall find them still negligent of their duty in the particulars aforementioned, whereby children and servants become rude, stubborn and unruly, the said selectmen with the help of two magistrates shall take such children or apprentices from them, and place them with some masters for years, boys till they come to twenty one and girls to eighteen years of age complete, which will more strictly look unto, and force them to submit unto government, according to the rules of this order, if by fair means and former instructions they will not be drawn unto it.[6]

Two centuries later, New England educational advocates like Horace Mann, James C. Carter, Henry Barnard, and Catherine Beecher would devote major attention to missionizing the unregenerate American South and West. Beecher was a prime mover in an 1850s VISTA-like program which sent hundreds of New England women to teach in the wilderness: "You once said to us, you thought we might find at the West, as you did at the South, an astonishing stupidity and indolence," one teacher wrote back from Missouri, "and I think I have seen something of it."[7] "The children and youth of the country are not disciplined as they are in the East," wrote another teacher from Indiana. "There is no want of intellect, but most are lacking in those habits of industry and persevering application so common in New England, and so essential to all who would excel in any department."[8]

Teachers were required to report a Protestant conversion experience as a prerequisite to participation. One of the expectations of them was that they would evangelize in and out of class. From Tipton, Iowa another teacher wrote about her extramural religious teaching:

> We have a fine Sabbath school in the Schoolhouse. I think you could not fail to be interested if you were present some cold Sabbath mornings & see how much pain is taken by the youth of this neighborhood to be at the Sabbath school. In the east we know but little

> about cold winds to what those do who live upon the vast prairies of the west. I attend no meeting on the Sabbath on account of the Sabbath School. There is preaching occasionally some evening during the week.[9]

When a newspaper in Burlington, Iowa noted that the New England teachers were required to profess a common faith, Horace Mann rushed an explanation. After a lengthy defense of Catherine Beecher, he enclosed a clipping stating that "all truths of religion on which Evangelical [Protestant] denominations agree" should be taught.[10] Taking the "New England idea" in education to the rest of the country certainly included the centrality of a correct moral and religious message.

### A Common Curriculum

For John Brinsley and his seventeenth century colleagues there was no doubt that everyone needed to know classical languages and literature and be proficient in their own vernaculars. By the nineteenth century people, especially outside of New England, challenged the value of the classics. Benjamin Franklin in Pennsylvania and others in New York argued for broader and more utilitarian studies in higher education. It was not until the Morrill Act of 1862, however, that the basic collegiate curriculum began to significantly broaden. At the common school level, Horace Mann and others waged an effective campaign for standardized texts and a standard curriculum.

### Instruction Available to All

"Learning is the true light and that principal part of man's glory," wrote Brinsley. Any normal person, he added, would want his own child to have the "most excellent learning" available. Enlightened Christians would naturally be even more eager that all people have true learning. Education should be as available to all for their use as the light which God has generously supplied to everyone.[11]

Not everyone in England shared Master Brinsley's egalitarian enthusiasm. Indeed, he was finally barred from teaching in his school specifically because he argued too strongly for universal schooling. But the belief that instruction must be affordably available to all is a central theme in the American compulsory school movement. Connecticut again led the way by adopting in 1644 the following law (usually attributed to Massachusetts):

> It being one chief project of that old deluder Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading them from the use of tongues, so that at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded with false glosses of saint seeming deceivers; and that learning may not be buried in the grave of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors,--It is therefore ordered by this Court and Authority thereof, that every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him, to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general by way of supply, as the major part of those who order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided that those who send their children be not oppressed by more than they can have them taught for in other towns. And it is further ordered, that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the masters thereof being able to instruct youths so far as they may be fitted for the university. And if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, then every such town shall pay five pounds per annum to the next such school, till they shall perform this order.[12]

The rural nature of American life forced major exceptions to this law before 1700, but the central idea of using the machinery of government to ensure the availability of schools has been a constant thread in America's educational history. In the middle of the Civil War, Northern and Western advocates of New England style "common schools" declared the prime cause of the Great Rebellion was a lack of these items in the South. To preclude future problems, seceded states were required to write into their new constitution provisions for such schools.

## Improving Methods

The Protestant reformers' preoccupation with the Jesuits focused on the latter group's development of a few procedures which any serious teacher could learn in a relatively short time. John Brinsley, after a period of frustration, discovered six basic principles which vitalized his own teaching. He was sure they would dramatically improve any school which used them and would brighten the path of any teacher who would try them. They were: (1) starting pupils as soon as they were ready (usually age five or six) instead of waiting till age seven; (2) making sure children understood everything before proceeding; (3) having pupils master basic nouns, verbs, and grammar rules; (4) ensuring that each author was mastered; (5) allowing pupils to check their own mistakes by a system of double translations (as advocated by Cicero and Roger Ascham); and (6) improving pupils' knowledge of English as a systematic byproduct of their study of Latin.[13]

Brinsley possessed the true reformer's faith that even the worst schools and most miserable teachers could be vastly improved by systematic attention to pedagogical issues. Forcing pupils to attend a school (or parents to send them) was not an issue to Brinsley. People want good instruction the way they want good food, clean air, or pleasant surroundings. A long list of pedagogical reformers since Brinsley have agreed. Certainly, the New England women who went West in the 1850s exemplified the attitude. They had effective training in New Haven before setting out. Once on the scene, they won converts by force of their teaching skills. For example, Cynthia M. Bishop wrote from Indiana in 1853:

> I think I have improved as a teacher in consequence of the instruction received at Hartford. I feel the need of more of the same high order, when, as I often do, I find it difficult to make my large girls love Grammar. They were put into it by unskillful teachers at nine and eleven years of age, & have learned it by rote enough to disgust them,

> & that is all the good, but not all the evil it has done. I think we are gaining slowly. I have governed the school without using the rod thus far, though I sometimes think it would do one or two rogues good, who forget quite too often what they admit to be right.
>
> I do not know whether I had better remain here some time, or go into a larger school. I have only twenty scholars, but shall have more soon. I engaged only for one term, but I believe they are intending to keep me as long as they can. They are able to pay me well.[14]

Certainly, the nineteenth century preoccupation with teacher training is powerful testimony to the central place that improving methods and organization has had on the compulsory education movement.

## Conclusion

Given a contemporary tendency to treat compulsory education as synonymous with mandatory attendance, it is worth noting that John Brinsley would not have dreamed of forcing pupils to attend. When he wrote of compelling a barbarous people to civility, he meant to offer a curriculum so fundamental and instruction so enticing that pupils would learn with ease and delight. Every piece of legislation designed to force attendance is a betrayal of the undergirding principles of compulsory education--no matter where or when they may be found.

## Notes

1. Lawrence Cremin, American Education--The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783 (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 12.

2. John Brinsley, A Consolation for Our Grammar Schooles (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, [1622] 1943), 5. There were two John Brinsleys. The person cited in this paper lived from circa 1565 to some time after 1620. His son also wrote extensively and lived from 1585-1665. Spelling in quotations has been modernized and Americanized throughout this paper.

3. John Brinsley, Ludus Literarius (Menston, England: The Scholar Press Limited, [1612] 1968), contents (last folio).

4. See L. Glenn Smith et al., Lives in Education: People and Ideas in the Development of Teaching (Ames, Iowa: Educational Studies Press, 1984), 133-41.

5. Brinsley, A Consolation, 45-46.

6. Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, 1636-1665 (Hartford: F. A. Brown, 1882), 44-45.

7. Elisabeth Hill to Nancy Swift, 20 December 1852, National Popular Education Board Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, New Haven, Connecticut. Cited hereafter as NPEB.

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11. Brinsley, A Consolation, 4.

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## SUMMARY

This paper argues that the roots of American compulsory education are to be found in the period of early settlement. John Brinsley's A Consolation for Our Grammar Schooles (1622) explicated the four basic assumptions on which compulsory education in America rests: (1) morality, (2) a common curriculum, (3) universality, and (4) proper methods and organization.

Correspondence between teachers and the New England based National Popular Education Board illustrate that all four assumptions were current in the nineteenth century. The author concludes that the highest tradition of compulsory education is that excellent methods and a relevant curriculum should make enforced attendance unnecessary.

# COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN UTOPIA: OWEN AND NEEF

Dieter Jedan

## SUMMARY

Robert Owen et Joseph Neef étaient des penseurs pédagogiques qui ont été les premiers à tenter d'installer un système d'éducation obligatoire dans les écoles de New Harmony, Indiana aux États-Unis.

A la différence de partout ailleurs aux États-Unis et comme résultat des objectifs spéciaux de cette société utopique, une éducation obligatoire fut poussée plus loin dans ce village qu'autre part aux États-Unis.

Pour différentes raisons, la Société New Harmony Éducation a réussi à etablir un système d'éducation obligatoire, par lequel les jeunes garçons et filles entre deux et quatorze ans deviendraient la propriété des ecoles. Les raisons principales étaient la croyance que l'environment des écoles devrait être controllé pour guarantir une egalité dans l'education, que des conditions extérieures défavorisantes pourraient être modifiées et que ce système permettrait à la communauté de faire des projets plus efficaces pour leur propre avenir.

Malheureusement, la communauté, ainsi que ses ecoles cessa d'exister après moins de deux années d'opération.

## I. INTRODUCTION:

In the United States of America, the early nineteenth century witnessed the somber beginnings of a compulsory public education system, which guaranteed to provide each child of school age in the nation an elementary education. A somewhat different development took place in New Harmony, a utopian society on the banks of the Wabash River in Southern Indiana.

Due to the special goals of this "Community of Equality", compulsory education was carried further within the confines of this village, than anywhere else in the country. For a variety of reasons, New Harmony succeeded in establishing a compulsory school system whereby the young children not only would become the property of the community schools at the age of 2, but would also be left under the school's supervision during the formative years, until the age of fourteen.

## II. EDUCATION FOR EQUALITY

### 2.1 Education as Public Property

In early 1826, Owen organized the New Harmony School Society and upon the recommendation of his collaborator William Maclure the former employed Francis Joseph Nicholas Neef from Louisville, Kentucky to take charge of the schools. The New Harmony Gazette reported that "[t]he society regards education as public property and holds that the education and training of the youth should be among the first objects of its solitude and care." [1]

Neef was selected as Headmaster because of his belief in social mobility independent from a person's background, his Pestalozzian ideas of a new social and educational order in the "Community of Equality", and because of his pioneer's spirit.

Owen, while agreeing with William Maclure's hiring of Neef, did not share Neef's pioneer beliefs; instead, he reiterated that the total social development of the young and the school environment were reciprocally related. What was needed according to Owen was a controlled school environment - a social reconstruction in which education played the major role.

As Principal, Neef tried to realize the community's desire to use the resources of science and technology, thus hoping to strengthen each pupil's faith in mastering the circumstances of the utopian society. His view of the educated person embodied

> "...a man who looks before he leaps, who examines everything and believes nothing; who in every instance takes his own experience for his guide in acting, who habitually and invariably refuses to act in obedience to his fancy or imagination or other suggestion of external testimony, who has acquired the habit of analyzing every subject that may interest him, who has acquired the habit of using his senses with certainty and effect." [2]

Like Neef, Owen, too, manifested a profound interest in the welfare of the youth of New Harmony. While at New Lanark, near Glasgow, he had previously organized a free school for children ages 5 to 10, teaching them temperance, cleanliness, religious toleration, and the 3 R's, among others. From these past, often painful experiences at New Lanark's cotton mills, he was by personal experience qualified to sympathize with the boys and girls who were employed at the mills at an early age and who were deprived of a proper education. At New Harmony, Owen wanted to avoid a similar dilemma.

The first approach to the problem of education made by the members of the New Harmony Education Society toward a compulsory education was the provision that "children should become the property of the community at the age of two, when they were received into the infant school." [3]

Neef's curriculum in the school of New Harmony was devised to enable the pupils to partake in the kind of experiences that foster the growth of intelligent behavior. As the Headmaster of the school system, Neef provided the pupils with opportunities for replies to actual life situations, for planning to deal with these situations in the light of different consequences, and for observations to study outcomes. There were also ample after-school activities that reinforced community and moral values, such as sports, community projects, choir. The system provided each pupil with an education that was less oriented toward subject matter or the learning of a trade, but rather good habits in the acquisition of correct knowledge and a solid feeling toward cooperative socialism and communitarian living.

## 2.2 Compulsory Education for the Reconstruction of Society

Reconstruction of society, Owen believed, could be achieved only by means of a compulsory educational system. Despairing of success at New Lanark, he promoted the New Harmony experiment in cooperative socialism.

Indeed, Owen was no stranger to compulsory education laws. The first approach made by England towards compulsory education was a law passed by the Parliament in 1802, entitled "An Act for the Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices and others employed in the Cotton Mills, and other Mills, and Cotton and other Factories." This law stipulated that every apprentice must be taught the 3 R's a few hours every day. Owen, knowing that the English law of 1802 was at best makeshift, did not want to repeat similar mistakes at New Harmony.

In the New Harmony of the Spring of 1826, although commerce and industry were rapidly advancing, riches were not accumulating as expected, since Southern Indiana was still primarily an agricultural region. Therefore, it is not surprising that Owen's

New Harmony community depended in the early days primarily on agriculture rather than industry. And since the Industrial Revolution had barely begun here, business was still organized on the domestic system.

In the early days of the Utopian society, few persons besides Owen, Maclure, and Neef were aware of the societal changes that had already occured, and still fewer realized the combined force which these changes were about to exert on the social, political, and educational life of the community.

Owen believed that the success of the community would depend to a large degree on the success of its school system. The mission of the school could not be achieved, however, unless there was free access to books, laboratory supplies, well-equipped workshops, newspapers, to mention just a few. In June 1826, William Russel wrote:

> "... upwards of a hundred packages of books, etc. have just arrived via New Orleans. The works are the most useful and the most splendid that could be procured on natural history, antiquities, architecture, agriculture, etc. There is besides an extensive collection of paintings and prints ... . We do not hesitate to say that this place offers advantages for education which are not surpassed, if equalled, by any part of this country."[4]

Indeed, in conjunction with the founding of the New Harmony Education Society, there was a marked tendency on the part of all involved to insure the educational, artistic, and vocational advancement of the young.

## 2.3 Education for a Classless Society

Owen's experiences in England had shown him that the survival of the individual often depended on his ability to stand on his own feet and fend for his rights without regard to social or class background. The goal of education in New Harmony was to foster a classless society where all were equal.

> "All members of the community shall be considered as one family and no one shall shall be held in higher or lower estimation on account of occupation. ... It shall always remain a primary object of the community to give the best physical, moral, and intellectual education to all its members." [5]

Owen, a member of the Education Society, stressed in his speeches and public addresses that the source of all evil lies in the environment of man, stressing that man has been and always will be the product of his environment. He argued that, if these detrimental conditions were modified, i.e., if the children of the community were placed under the total care and control of the school at an early age where positive conditions and influences will be possible, the future goodness of society could be virtually guaranteed.[6]

All Education Society members were convinced that the school environment and the total social and moral development were reciprocally related. If society is corrupt, than the school would be partially effective only. What was needed, many argued, was a controlled school environment.

With this, the New Harmony Education Society denied the importance of the home, the mother, and the other supportive forces around the child's home, arguing that the school is the only place where a well-rounded education is most feasible since the outward conditions can be arranged according to the goals of the community as a whole. Owen wanted to exert even more influence, much to the dismay of William Maclure, the Superintendent of the New Harmony schools:

> "Mr. O[wen]'s interference with education must produce, from my previous conviction of his total ignorance and inexperience of anything but a kind of qua[c]kery resting on faith and beliefs practised at New Lanark." [7]

This does not mean that Owen was in opposition with the Education Society. Anyone familiar with the educational conditions in the mid-1826s, will readily understand Owen's concerns. There was little public education and it was apparent that the available instruction was pitifully inadaquate to meet the needs of a large portion of society, i.e., provisions for the education of the common working-class people were distressingly bad. Memorization was the only method of instruction, teachers were ill-prepared, and instruction consisted of little beyond the catechism.

Maclure agreed with the findings of the Education Society that children should be taken out of their family's home and placed under the supervision of the schools. For this very purpose he instructed Madame Marie Duclos Fretageot, a friend and Pestalozzian teacher, to outline the broad educational goals of the schools. She wrote in a letter to Maclure dated March 28, 1825:

> "The first society will be found on the following principles. Those who will be received the first shall be chosen amongst the best principled being, in order to form by their example those who afterwards will be received indiscrimi-

> nately ... . The children's education is what will occupy the most, because from them depend the future prosperity not only of the community but of all." [8]

Neef, like Fretageot and Maclure were sensitive to the conditions of the children in an pre-industrialized society. All realized that such society had brought about insurmountable changes in the conditions of the family, thus depriving many children of the formative influences of a secure home. Neef, by underscoring that children become the property of the Education Society at the age of two, sought to create a prepared school environment which could be considered a substitute for the crumbling home environment. This brought with it a new kind of school, as well as a new pattern of education.

The adoption of the principle that all children are to become the property of the schools led to the adoption of new principles of teaching. Those principles were compounded of parts of political equality, democracy, practicality with the idealism, scientific method, and child psychology which stemmed from Neef's mentor, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi.

Neef regarded education as a gradual process of guiding the pupil into a 'natural' life context:

> "Considering that man is born neither good nor bad, but that the disposition to become either good or bad is intimately interwoven with his organizations, he [Pestalozzi] became soon convinced that our education is the only cause of our becoming either good, useful, intelligent, rational, moral, and virtuous beings, or wicked, noxious, ignorant, senseless, superstitious, criminal, and, therefore miserable creatures." [9]

The fact that the New Harmony Education Society had requested each family to agree to the stipulations of a compulsory, "away from the home" education before they were allowed to join the community meant that all pupils lived in school dormitories. This method allowed for total immersion, whereby Neef and his fellow teachers could provide all pupils with similar experiences, life styles, clothing, food, love, and sensitivity:

> "The upper part [of the Steeple House] will serve for upward of a hundred boys to sleep, the lower part is divided into workshops for shoemakers, carpenters, tinmen, stocking weavers, etc. at

> which the boys all learn to work part-time as a recreation from more studious persuits, besides being occasionally employed in the fields and yards ... ." [10]

Neef became convinced, that the future social and political stability of the community was dependent upon a compulsory education system to lead the young to understand and plan their respective future professions. Here education without regard for a pupil's social and economic background provided the community with a solid, equal foundation whereby the children were allowed to adapt to various different jobs, depending on the need of the community. Most important, however, a proper compulsory education for all would provide the whole community with a better understanding of their future mission and allow them to plan more effectively for their own future in a community of equality.

Neef's frontier experiences prior to coming to New Harmony taught him that the survival of the individual and the community as a whole depended on their ability to rely on their skills and knowledge. Knowledge, Neef argued, strengthened each member's faith that he should not be afraid of changes but rather that he should welcome them as a sign of social improvement.

In an undated manuscript, Neef addresses himself to the question of educational content in the schools:

> "To educate children is generally understood to mean teaching them all sorts of arts & sciences, as well as dead & living languages. This view of the matter, however, does not seem to be quite correct. If education consisted in the imparting of the knowledge of our arts & sciences; then no person could be called completely educated, unless thoroughly acquainted with languages, arts & sciences too numerous & too difficult of acquisition that ten ordinary lives would not suffice to receive such an education. The obvious impossibility of the scheme proves that such a comprehensive instruction cannot be the real scope of education. ...
>
> It is evident, methinks, that, with all our real or imaginary sagacity, we cannot possibly forsee what will be the future situation of our children, what art or what science will be necessary & use- to their future welfare. This position I think to be obvious & incontrovertible; and this being the case, how can we determine before hand what arts, languages,

> sciences will be required to insure their future happiness, their future usefulness." [11]

This manuscript shows that Neef, like Owen, was a visionary, also; especially in the year following his initial move to New Harmony he became more involved with questions such as environmental influences, the usefulness of one course over another, and a controlled school environment. [12]

Like Owen, Neef opposed bookish learning, artificial awards and punishment. He was in total agreement with Robert Owen that human behavior is the result from exposure to conditions and forces in our environment. Controlling this environment implied the ability to control the formation and development of the character of the young, New Harmony's most precious commodity and their key to the success of the "Community of Equality".

Unlike Owen, however, Neef's view of compulsory education revealed also a belief in the democratic ideals which America symbolized, particularly the American commitment to political and religious freedom that was only limited by the individual's own imagination and the laws of the land. The one-room schoolhouse, the untrained, sometimes even ignorant teacher, the restriction of education to the basics which were needed by a farmer, weaver, shoemaker, printer, or anyone else to get by, these traits which were so typical of early nineteenth century American schools in general, no longer applied to the New Harmony schools.

Certainly, the teachers, curriculum, and the classroom in this utopian society were different from the rest of the nation, because everyone in New Harmony had a vested interest in the success of the schools. With the requirement that all children became the property of the school, an equal education was virtually guaranteed to every child. Great care was taken by Neef that the curriculum was not only intellectual and vocational, but also practical: "Suppose, for instance, I require a son of mine to learn the [G]reek language. Well, chance and choice combine, and the young fellow becomes a merchant. Do you think that his knowledge of [G]reek will be of great service to him in his commercial speculations." [13]

For Neef, practical education is not the teaching of a single skill. The true aim is essentially nothing more than the application of the whole of human education to the specific task of earning a living. Neef, therefore, decided that for practical education to be effective it must be based on a wide general education - for in his view it should concern itself much more than previously with the personality of the pupils. It was on the child's character and intelligence, and not on his purely physical skill, that his happiness, diligence, and adaptability depended.

## III. CONCLUSION:

Due to the fact that the impression outside the New Harmony community prevailed that the schools taught atheism, the bill in the Indiana State legislature for incorporation of the "New Harmony Education Society" failed by a vote of 15 to 4. The community's schools existed from 1826 to 1828. With the departure of Neef from New Harmony in the fall of 1828, the compulsory education system that was instituted by the New Harmony Education Society ceased to exist.

The problems which the schools were confronted with were not unforeseen, however. In 1826, Neef predicted possible problems unless the adults in the community change:

> "...we see around us only confusion, inequality, apathy or jealosy, ill will, & a conflict of opposite feelings, instead of order, regularity, equality, voluntary industry, & a mutual spirit of accomodation, all wh[ich] we deem necessary to insure ye success of ye Social System."[14]

The New Harmony "Community of Equality" and the "Education Society" existed, both experiments in communal living, existed less than two years and ended failures. In his autobiography, Owen is inclined to blame the compulsory school system of the community for the failure of the experiment. The reasons for the closing of the schools are probably more instricate. Part of the blame is to be placed on the society as a whole that was responsible for the school system. Neef epitomized it, as follows: "Schooling goes on pretty well; that is school houses are erecting, children are sent there, school masters appointed, primers, spelling books are as plenty as blackberries, pious tracts and holy bibles are studied most devoutly. The consequence of all this ado will be as it always has been, a plentiful crop of credulity; and therefore the next generation of man and women, to a dead certainty, be as credulous, fantastic, fanatic, foolish, and wretched ... ." [15]

Whatever the reasons for the failure of the New Harmony Education Society may have been, one thing is clear, Owen and Neef were educational thinkers who always will merit study because they emphasized the essential, but neglected place of education in society. Both were trying to provide the child with an prescribed environment, in order to be able to guide them. Their visions of the ultimate goals of compulsory education, combined with their individual ideas and visions of the ultimate goals of education, make them educational thinkers who deserve to be read, discussed, and studied.

# NOTES

[1] Will S. Monroe. *The History of the Pestalozzian Movement in the United States* (Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. Bardeen, 1907), p. 111.

[2] MS Neef. Letter to William Maclure, dated December 6, 1834. Property of Mr. Kenneth D. Owen, New Harmony, Indiana.

[3] Monroe, p. 112.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 115-6.

[5] "Mr. Owen's School at New Harmony", *in: American Annals of Education and Instruction* (June, 1826), pp. 673-6.

[6] W. Liebknecht. *Robert Owen. Sein Leben und sozialpolitisches Wirken* (Nuernberg, 1892), pp. 52-3.

[7] *Correspondence of William Maclure and Marie Duclos Fretageot* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1948), p. 339.

[8] *Ibid.,* Letter by Madame Fretageot, addressed to William Maclure, date March 28, 1825.

[9] Joseph Neef. *Sketch of a Plan and Method of Education Founded on an Analysis of the Human Faculties and Natural Reason, Suitable for the Offspring of a Free People and for All Rational Beings* (Phildaelphia, 1808, p. 4.

[10] Monroe, p. 113-4.

[11] MS Neef, entitled "Education No. 8", fragment and undated. Property of Mr. Kenneth D. Owen, New Harmony, Indiana.

[12] John F. C. Harrison. *Utopianism and Education. Robert Owen and the Owenites* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1968).

[13] *Ibid.,*, MS Neef, "Education No. 8".

[14] MS Neef, dated August 20, 1826. Property of the Workingmen's Institute New Harmony, Indiana.

[15] MS Neef, Letter to Maclure , dated December 6, 1834, *op. cit.,* p. 1.

# COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND THE WALDORF SCHOOLS IN AMERICA

## Joseph A. Baust

Compulsory Education in the United States was a result of what Albert Camus (1970) suggested as man's sensing of the possibilities of improvement, a gradual dissatisfaction with what was, and the impetus to make changes (p. 3). The need for a permanent, more planned and systematic education in America was an example. This change was either based upon dissatisfaction with the education of children performed by such organizations as the church, New York's Educational Alliance, and the German "turn verein", to name a few, and/or a recognized need to assure standard educational opportunity for all children.

Massachusetts, the first state in the United States to legislate compulsory education in 1852, and Mississippi, the last state to do same in 1918, envisioned the need to "provide for the common good" through mandatory schooling. Cremin (1964) felt the results of these compulsory education laws brought about problems and opportunities for educational change and provided a fertile socio-political climate for the progressive education movement as well as other pedigogical innovations (p. 128). Many of the new changes could be attributable to the ideas of Marietta Johnson at Fairhope, and Francis W. Parker at Quincy, Massachusetts. Yet, some changes resulted from some familiarity with pedagogical developments in Europe.

Since compulsory education provided a positive atmosphere for change and educational experimentation, it was not unusual to see various permutations of existent ideas develop as well as new approaches to old problems. Yet, despite this climate for change, the Waldorf School and its accompanying philosophies did not appear as swiftly on the North American continent as swiftly as did others. It wasn't until 1928, when all states had developed compulsory education laws, that the first Waldorf School was established in New York City in the United States. Using the philosophy and tenets of Rudolf Steiner, a German born in a hamlet on the Austro-Hungarian border, the Waldorf Schools systematically florished in Europe. Yet, it took a longer time to establish as extensive a program in the United States and Canada.

Recently, however, one hundred Waldorf Schools have been established, forty-two of which have been in existence for quite some time. Of this number, eleven of the schools have classes for kindergarten through twelfth grades.

## Waldorf Schools A Reaction To Compulsory Education?

Since the first Waldorf School in the North American continent began after the compulsory education laws were effectively in place, the natural question is to ask whether it could have been a response to the institution of these laws. Was it a deliberate attempt to address the weaknesses of compulsory education? Was it the beginning of a new school of thought which effectively addressed the "needs of children" on a developmental basis as opposed to compulsory education which legislated school attendence based upon chronological age in the United States? Indeed, was the resultant education in the Waldorf School as conceived by Steiner and his followers an answer to at least some of the problems created by the laws of compulsory education?

A query of a random selection of Waldorf Schools in the United States was undertaken to establish whether any of the above questions could be answered from a present point of view. There seemed to be no disparity between compulsory education and the Waldorf Schools with regard to one interfering with the other. When the school administrators were asked whether compulsory education restricted their compliance with the philosophies of Waldorf Education and Rudolf Steiner, one hundred percent stated "no". One of the administrators stated: "Even though we do follow the State Rules for Education, it does not restrict the tenents of Rudolf Steiner."

It would appear from the sample of Waldorf Schools in the United States at this point in time, Rudolf Steiner's philosophies and the Waldorf concept of education exists as an approach to educating children, but has not evolved deliberately as the answer to the problems associated with compulsory education.

## Readiness for School

A distinguishing factor between the Waldorf Schools and those public/private schools in the United States, has been in part the assessment for readiness for learning "abstract concepts" such as number or formal reading.

It can be noted that most state supported schools admit children by compulsion at the chronological age of six years. While there has not been a general consensus on the date for which children should attain this stage of physical growth, a large proportion of school systems have permitted children to enter the first grade if their sixth birthday has occured before October 1.

As has been stated, the Waldorf schools comply with state compulsory education laws with similar disparities exisiting in chronological age requirements for entry into the first grade. The schools that were asked about entrance age had a range of from June 1 to November 1 for the first grade experience.

It can be deduced that readiness in other public/private schools and the Waldorf Schools in the United States, is similar in nature. Yet, there are major differences which separate the systems drastically. Baust (1976) found eighty-three percent of the Waldorf Schools in the United States used a physiological/developmental criteria for at least a partial means of assessing readiness for school or as a guide to subject matter readiness (p. 27).

Steiner stipulated the period between the loss of the first, or "milk teeth", was a critical factor since it indicated a cognitive and conceptual maturity. He suggested this was an indicator of where the physiological manifested itself in the cognitive. Further, he stated: "We begin to teach or educate the child between the changes of teeth and the ages of puberty (1968, 41)". Other factors have played a part in the assessment of readiness of the children in the Waldorf Schools. It has been the general consensus that it was not until the child reached this plateau that the forces of growth were "freed". It was at this time there could be a redirection and thus, a channeling into more formal learning processes.

The Waldorf Schools have mentioned the work of the Gesell Institute of Child Development in New Haven, Connecticut as a further, updated verification of Steiner's contention that the shedding of the "milk teeth" was a significant factor in assessing readiness for "abstract thinking". Dr. Frances Ilg (1975), former director of the Gesell Institute felt:

> ...whenever I go into a second grade classroom when interest in math is so high for boys and girls, and when that seven-year-old Rubicon is crossed (Piaget's Conservation of Continuous Quantities), I always take a glance at their teeth. ...When I see no movement of the upper incisors, then I am concerned and want to examine the child to see if he is really a six-year-old and belongs in the first grade. (p. 1)

Before this time, Steiner has suggested children were bound by the "imitative instinct", where those things in the environment or natural surroundings engulfed the attention of the child. Steiner (1958) has pointed to the work of Jean Piaget to corroborate these assertions:

> He found that very few children between the ages of four and six were able to match six bottles and glasses, or eggs and egg-cups. (p. 13)

This demonstrated to Rudolf Steiner the notion that readiness was a critical factor in dealing with "number concepts". His statement further emphasized the necessity for readiness:

> It is though you asked them to lift heavy weights before their muscles and sinews were strong enough. (p. 14)

Other physiologists such as Krogman (1962), Ilg and Ames (1979), Uphoff and Gilmore (1985) and numerous others have suggested physiological growth and behavioral growth are integrative. This provides further evidence to support Rudolf Steiner and the Waldorf School's practices of tailoring the educational program to reflect the development of the child.

Though the Waldorf Schools have complied with state compulsory education laws, within this framework there has been a departure in the screening for formal learning skills from the other public/private schools in the United States. With this has come the recognition that while education should begin according to regulations, the curriculum must reflect the characteristics of what Steiner calls the "imitative stage" and its ideosyncracies; whereas the other public/private schools have disregarded the research and have continued to use chronological age as "the determinant" for early school success. As Ames and Ilg (1979) have succinctly stated:

> Birthday or chronological age is no guarantee of readiness for school. Our position is that the child's behavior age, not his birthday age, should determine the time of school entrance and of subsequent promotion. (p. 59)

Anne Charles, the Chairperson of the Association of Waldorf Schools in North America, suggested, "ideally the admission of students for first grade should occur at the chronological year seven", given other factors such as social skills are adequate. Additionally, she pointed out there was a significant difference between readiness in boys and girls, and this should also be reflected in the screening process. Clearly this statement shows a disparity with the practices of schools other than the Waldorf group and a consistency with the research which is supportive of the notion of "readiness" beyond the narrow definition of chronological age. The model that has evolved in the name of compulsory education with regard to readiness, has been too narrow at its inception, and the practice of accepting children at age six to "fit a curriculum", the Procrustian Bed, has no merit and little, if any, support from the literature.

## Waldorf Curriculum Versus Compulsory Education/Curriculum

Rudolf Steiner's Waldorf Schools have represented his pedagogical and epistimological viewpoints in the curriculum beginning with the notion of a child's readiness for early, and the eventual "higher order" cognitive tasks through a three step developmental process. Similar to Piaget's and Jerome Bruner's stages of cognitive development, Steiner felt a need to go beyond and prepare and "whole child", a pre-Gestaltian notion. Steiner dealt with the imitative nature of the young child of six to seven years, provided for the fantasy and imagination in the years seven through fourteen, and met the more abstract needs as exemplified by cause and effect relationships for the child of approximately twelve years.

Steiner (1919) stated:

> Knowledge of the special needs of each life period provides a basis for drawing up a suitable curriculum. ...Thus, while the first school years are properly spent on teaching

> the child to read and write, the teaching must be done in a manner that permits the essential character of this phase of development to be served. (p. 5)

He further subscribed to the notion that if abstract ideas were presented solely, this would retard independent curiosity. Therefore, Steiner suggested children should learn writing as a natural outgrowth of drawing, and reading as the evolvement of writing. He addressed the need to make learning an organistic endeavor, not a visual observation activity.

In the United States, this idea was preceded by similar practices of Marietta Johnson in her Organic School. Developed in 1907, which proported to "minister to the health of the body, develop the finest mental grasp, and preserve sincerity and unselfconsciousness of the emotional life", it was most like Steiner's Waldorf School concept. (Cremin, p. 149) The Organic School also attempted to "prolong childhood" and delay formal studies for as long as it was feasible. The major difference between Steiner and Johnson was the curriculum. However, it was noteworthy that a forerunner to the Waldorf School was in place at least twenty-one years before the first Waldorf School was established in 1928.

The curriculum of the Waldorf School in the United States was a result of the freedom afforded private schools of the time, and may have been the compromise between the pragmatism of Dewey with the traditional teaching of the time. All of these assertions were reinforced by what several Waldorf School principals/headmasters thought was clearly the difference between other schools and Steiner/Waldorf Education. Waldorf Schools and their curriculum:

1. Educated every aspect of the child such as the emotional and thinking.
2. Taught independent thinking.
3. Made education a living experience.
4. Prepared children to handle the outside world.
5. Integrated all subject areas into a cohesive whole.
6. Identified the abilities of each child and fostered and developed these to their fullest.
7. Followed a readiness model which best met individual needs of children.
8. Encouraged education outside the confines of the normal school day.
9. Use the fine arts extensively.

Recently, however, there has been an erosion of the private school's ability to identify and provide curriculum to children on the basis of those specific ideologies which differentiate one school from another. In the words of one of the Waldorf School personnel: "We want the children to think for themselves, not follow a textbook as much. We would rather they learn for its intrinsic value rather than learn material or information to take tests."

With the trend toward standardization of curriculum, and standardized testing within the states, as well as across the United States, the differences, indeed the diversity as represented by the Waldorf Schools, has seemed to be in jeopardy. The reasons for standardization is not as important as has been the steadily growing relationship between compulsory education and compulsory curriculum. White (1984) felt the reason for compulsory curriculum was to prevent a person from doing harm to others and to the persons themselves. (p. 119) This argument then is further developed to require or to eliminate curriculum on the basis of a plurality or democratic values as it were.

Already, it has been established that the Waldorf Schools have been using a developmental approach to teaching and learning, but the fact of a compulsory curriculum at the state or national level has the implications of the albatross waiting for the demise of diversity as opposed to encouraging same. Increasingly, states have been developing tests which has directed the curriculum and the methods of presenting this information. As Steiner would have responded, the compulsory curriculum, as well as the compulsory school, addresses only a small part of the development of the child. His notion is that the "spiritual growth" of the child is essential through the use of teachers who transcend the mundaneness of testing and the compulsory curriculum. Rudolf Steiner (1919) felt:

> ...the development of the pupil and the development of the civilized world-will require a body of teachers who do not shut themselves up in an educational routine with strictly professional interests, but rather take an active interest in the whole range of life. (p. 9)

With the continuing developments and interchangeable use of compulsory education and compulsory curriculum, Steiner's pedagogy would be defeated through the legislation of educational skills and concepts which have always been "abstract", and which would probably address only a part of what the Waldorf Schools have been attempting. Developmentalists, such as those persons in the Waldorf Schools, would be unable to provide curriculum to children at what they would deem the appropriate times, then every school would be alike.

Hans Furth (1970) provided the following guidelines:

> I would insist that the children and the teachers be freed from the outside pressure of being tested and evaluated until the end of the third or fourth year of school. This requirement is simply a gesture of self-defense against the scientific-looking methodology prevalent in our research in education and social science. We cannot expect that our teachers, our parents, and our children can launch on a new adventure if standards derived from old methods are constantly being applied to them. (p. 152)

Steiner and the Waldorf Schools apply these guidelines judiciously, but could not if they were called upon to test, and standardize these methodologies with the traditional ones associated with those public/private schools where compulsory education and compulsory curriculum have been a way of life.

## Conclusion

The Waldorf Schools clearly have provided an alternative to the other compulsory programs in the United States. Steiner's methods applied in the Waldorf Schools have been in existence over a substantial period of time to corroborate the necessity to rethink compulsory education in a different way than it has been thought of in the past and as it continues today.

Traditionally, the United States has been known for what Piaget has called the "American Question". How much faster and earlier can children learn? The answer Steiner and the Waldorf Schools pose has been that readiness, presentation, and using models, is but a part of the "spiritual growth" of the child.

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# COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN CHICAGO: ITS GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT FROM THE MID-NINETEENTH TO EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

## Joan K. Smith

Had the founding fathers of the United States chosen to include in the federal constitution, provisions for compulsory schooling, then perhaps, its pattern of growth and development might have looked different. Instead, after much heated debate they elected to omit any mention of education, thus leaving it to the state and local levels of government. If it had not been for land grants provided by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and later Acts of Congress states such as Illinois would have had no national incentives to support schools for its citizens.[1]

Without any national mechanism to ensure educational developments many states and municipalities were slow to assume responsibility by passing legislation that had adequate provisions for maintaining, supporting, and enforcing compulsory schooling. Consequently, the impetus came from individuals such as Horace Mann or James G. Carter who were zealously dedicated to the cause of a national system of education. It also came from groups of people who wanted a good education for their children or those who desired the kind of just society that could be provided only if all its future citizens were educated. A ground-swell of support that would result in better legal provisions at state and local levels was the usual result of the efforts of those mentioned above. Often, by the time state laws were passed the practices were firmly in place. In other words, the development of these state mechanisms needed to regulate a system of schools was usually an outgrowth of already existing local practices. For example, in looking at Chicago during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one is struck by the continual lack of local and state financial support so vital to the spread of compulsory education. One is also struck by how little the growth and development of compulsory schooling was affected by state legislation. What follows is a record of these patterns of development.

## FINANCES AND STRUCTURE OF SCHOOLING IN CHICAGO: 1833-71

Chicago had done better than many towns or states in selling its school lands for profit. The property from the Northwest Ordinance provisions had turned out to be what is now regarded as the busy downtown "loop" area. By 1835 all but four blocks had been sold, yielding a school fund whose paper value was around $40,000. This fund supported five primary schools with 235 students in a total town population of 4000. Unfortunately, the depression of 1837 closed all five schools. As one teacher wrote, Chicago's "great school fund . . .so celebrated is all loaned out," and "can not now command enough interest to support even one district school."[2]

By 1837 the five-year old frontier town had grown from 360 inhabitants to 4000. It had received a new charter dividing it into six municipal wards with one alderman per ward--each of whom would sit on a city council to be presided over by a mayor. The schools were under the jurisdiction of seven unsalaried school inspectors (one per school district) who were appointed by the council to: (1) select books; (2) examine teachers for hiring; (3) provide classroom facilities; (4) visit schools regularly; and (5) divide the school monies equitably among the various schools. In addition each inspector received help in the form of three trustees elected in each district to hire teachers; see that all white children between five and twenty-one attended school; and levy a local school tax (that could be up to ½ of 1 percent of the district's property values.) This money could be used for all necessary expenses incurred except teacher salaries which were paid by the school fund. In 1839 the city charter was amended to give the city council more control over the school's financial structure. The council was given full control over all school lands and funds, and the district trustees were to be appointed by the council as were the seven inspectors.[3]

By the forties and fifties, as Chicago began to flourish after a national depression, the city council realized that their decision was farsighted. School funds and contracts were becoming valuable enough to be politically important--a condition that would intensify across the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and continually interfere with the growth of compulsory schooling. During this period the Chicago Sanitary and Ship Canal opened to traffic that would cut off two weeks in shipping sugar from New Orleans to Buffalo, New York. Factories such as McCormick's reaper opened and six major railroads made Chicago their hub between the East and the West. Real estate values shot up drastically: One of the four blocks of school land not originally sold for its 1833 market price of $20.00 was worth $17,500 in 1851 and $40,000 in 1855.[4]

The city's population grew as dramatically as the real estate: by 1853 it was 60,662. Unfortunately, bad investments and very low property rentals kept the school fund much lower than it should have been. In 1858 one of the school fund's city blocks rented for $800, while the block adjacent to it rented for $5667. Some of the lessees of these blocks were the First National Bank, The Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Daily News. The total school expenditures began to increase beyond the means of the school fund. So in 1857 the council authorized a two mill (1/10 of 1 cent) school property tax to bridge this gap. The gap was becoming a chasm and to meet the rising demands for schools, the state legislature allowed the city council to increase the property tax for schools to five mills in 1867. This was the only income gain that the schools had across the sixties. Neither the school fund and land income nor the state per child income changed in any substantial way.[5]

The growth of education in the city paralleled its financial condition. The town was only five years old when a special committee of citizens reported that "Compulsory education is opposed by the prejudice which regards it as interference with family rights and duties and yet it seems almost a necessity." And they went on:

> It is well known that from the period of the first settlement of this place, the cause of education has received very little attention. This important interest which lies at the foundation of our social and political institutions has hitherto been left like an exotic to struggle for a precarious existence under the blighting chill of apathy and neglect.[6]

By 1840 there were 317 children enrolled in the ungraded classes taught by four teachers. This was about 7 percent of the town's population (see Table 1).[7]

In 1850, the 1919 public school students (6 percent of the total population) were taught by twenty-one teachers giving a pupil teacher ratio of 99:1. The inspectors noted that thousands of children were being turned away for lack of facilities. Many of these were the newly arrived German and Irish groups who wanted their children to be able to take advantage of public education. By 1855 their pressures would be felt.

In an attempt to "bring order and unity into the school districts," the council in 1853 authorized the inspectors to hire a superintendent who would serve them as a sort of secretary. One year later Superintendent John Dore arrived from Boston to take up the work. When he arrived he found three thousand children being taught by thirty-four teachers in seven buildings yielding a pupil-teacher ratio of 88:1. However, one year later the student enrollment had more than doubled to 6826 with forty-two teachers producing a pupil-teacher ratio of around 160:1! Apparently the large Irish-German segment of the population had been successful in enrolling their children in public schools. (It would, however, take another twelve years of pressure before the two, three and five mill property tax allotments would alleviate the class size situation.)

Dore remained for two years during which he: recorded all children's names and their daily attendance; gave a general student classification examination; and urged the establishment of a high school and a normal school along with a truant officer to keep track of those not in school. (He noted that parents kept children out for frivolous reasons.) He also recommended that the city pay for building upkeep so that the children would not have to build fires and sweep floors.[8]

Once again the inspectors turned to New England for their second superintendent, William H. Wells. Wells stayed as superintendent for eight years during which many changes affecting compulsory schooling took place. The same year, in which he arrived, (1856) witnessed the opening of Chicago's first public high school with three tracks: a classical stream for the college preparation of boys; a business course to prepare boys for the job market; and a two year coed normal training program for Chicago's schools. In the first year the school admitted 169 boys and girls; eight years later it enrolled 324 students. Unfortunately three to five thousand children a year were still being turned away due to overcrowded conditions.[9]

By 1861 the entire system of elementary instruction was graded into ten levels (five primary grades and five grammar grades). A total of 14,199 students were stuffed into these ten grades which were taught by 126 teachers, while 9 teachers taught 312 high school age youth, thereby producing a pupil-teacher ratio of 113:1 and 34:1 respectively. This represented around 13 percent of the total population of the city, and while the ratio was less than ideal, it was far better than the 160:1 of five years earlier.

Other changes occurred also. A bill for tax-supported common schools passed the state legislature in 1855 and a state normal school was chartered in 1857. Unfortunately neither provision benefitted Chicago very much. In the last instance the normal course in the high school was training teachers for the city and in the first instance state appropriations were meager and did little to alleviate the financial problems. In Chicago a fifteen-member board of education replaced the seven inspectors, and evening schools began admitting older working students. If it had not been for the property tax increases, the board would have been financially hard-pressed to handle these attendance increases. In 1870 when Chicago's land was re-appraised at $2616,424.00, the city council reduced the appraisal to $1852,424.00 in an effort to keep its renters happy. This reduced the school fund income by 6 percent. A Chicago pioneer and former board member "Long John" Wentworth accused the bankers of robbing school funds and thereby producing dire conditions for the city's public schools. The Chicago fire (1871) only exacerbated already poor financial conditions.

## THE SLOW PROGRESSION TOWARD COMPULSORY SCHOOLING: 1873-1912

In the great Chicago Fire fifteen school buildings were destroyed and most all of the city property was damaged beyond repair. The council authorized the levying of special assessments to rebuild the city, but to the school board it said "You have only so much money; fit what you can do to what you have."[10] The new state constitution of 1870 charged the legislature with producing a thorough and efficient system of free schools for all the children of the state between five and twenty-one, but provided no means to enforce it. The 1872 state school law increased the state control but not state support. Teachers salaries continued to be below other city employees and the normal department was closed because it was seen as an unnecessary expense.[11]

In 1877 the state passed its first child labor law prohibiting children under fourteen to work in coal mines and places that would injure their health; but they laid out no procedure for enforcing this. Three years later the first state compulsory education law required all children between the ages of eight and fourteen to attend school for twelve weeks in any one year unless excused by the board for good cause. Again this law had no real means of enforcement; if it had, the Chicago board would have had to come up with three times as many seats as it then provided.[12]

By 1888 the Chicago Woman's Club had brought pressure to bear upon the school board. They wanted the board to find a way to enforce the 1883 compulsory school law. Therefore, the board appointed a committee to investigate. Their report meekly pointed out what the board already knew: there was no space for these unattending children. They recommended that the board publicize the law and its intent to enforce it "where practicable." As a result three truant officers were appointed to investigate child labor in Chicago factories. A public meeting was also called for those citizens interested in compulsory education and child labor. The newspapers (who had very low, fixed rents on school lands for ninety-nine years) counteracted positive public sentiment with the following editorials: "Child Labor and Compulsory Education would close down manufacturing plants and make children idle and vicious"; and " 'Compulsory education is preposterous. Education is not necessary for everyone'."[13]

By 1889 Chicago had increased its number of truant officers to twelve, and had started requiring affidavits from children attesting to their ages. They had investigated 17,500 cases of truancy and placed 9799 in parochial, evening, or day schools, but the percentage of children in school did not change significantly (see Table 1, for the year 1900.) More compulsory education and child labor laws were passed throughout the nineties as factories found it less and less profitable to employ them. However, the laws were weak and unenforceable. Besides, the Chicago Board of Education reported that compulsory attendance brought incorrigibles to school and their presence was very disturbing. Special rooms were needed with different systems of discipline. With this the board washed its hands of children who would not behave, their attitude being that their character had already been formed by seven years.

The early decade of the twentieth century brought few permanent changes in compulsory education for Chicago schools. The immediate demands centered around low teacher pay as the first teachers union affiliated with labor. In 1909 Superintendent Ella Flagg Young (1845-1918) tried to provide more seats and better facilities. Temporarily the percentage of children served did increase, but there were still too many students on half-day shifts.[14]

In 1912 the state raised the compulsory attendance age from fourteen to sixteen (where it remains today) and increased the minimum daily attendance from 80 to 110 days. It also increased the school fund and created separate educational and building funds for each school district. Unfortunately, Chicago went through its biggest growth period from 1890 to 1910 adding 1,000,000 people to its 1,205,669 census figure of 1890. Therefore, this additional support did little to alleviate the very overcrowded school conditions. Manual training was started at all levels and special rooms were set aside for students formerly regarded as "incorrigible."

## THE AFTERMATH

By the twentieth century the march toward compulsory education was finally underway with determination. The efforts at local then state levels had produced enough momentum to carry the commitment to the national level. During and after World War I the Federal Government began assuming many of the financial responsibilities that had been lacking at local and state levels and that were so vital to effective compulsory schooling. Except for setbacks created by the Great Depression and World War II the journey has been one of steady progress. If the committment had originated at the national level and filtered down to the state and local levels, the configurations as seen in Chicago's educational structures might have looked different; but this is pure speculation. What can be said is that Chicago, as a nineteenth century urban growth center, is not atypical in its patterns of educational development and compulsory attendance.

TABLE 1

TABLE 1: Chicago School Enrollment

| Year | City Population | Elementary | High School+ | Total | % of Pop Enrolled* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1840 | 4,470 | 317 | | 317 | 7 |
| 1850 | 29,963 | 1,919 | | 1,919 | 6 |
| 1860 | 112,172 | 14,199 | 312 | 14,511 | 13 |
| 1870 | 298,977 | 27,342 | 602 | 38,939 | 13 |
| 1880 | 503,185 | 58,519 | 1,043 | 59,562 | 12 |
| 1890 | 1,205,669 | 131,341 | 2,825 | 135,541 | 11 |
| 1900 | 1,698,775 | 215,660 | 10,698** | 255,718 | 15 |
| 1910 | 2,185,283 | 257,620 | 24,781** | 301,172 | 14 |
| 1920 | 2,701,705 | 291,678 | 36,946** | 393,918 | 15 |

*Assumes that the child pop. is a constant in total pop.

**Contains post secondary normal school enrollments.

## NOTES

1. Most of the land was sold for ridiculously low prices with the monies being invested poorly or squandered by speculators interested in making a quick profit. Millions of these acres sold for less than a dollar an acre, thereby producing little or no revenue with which to start a school fund.

2. Mary J. Herrick, The Chicago Schools, A Social and Political History (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1971): 24.

3. Ibid., 24-26; Shepherd Johnston, Historical Sketches of the Public School System of Chicago: The 25th Annual Report of the City of Chicago Board of Education of the Year Ending December 31, 1879. (Chicago: Clark and Edwards, 1880): 1-14; William P. Morgan, "The School Fund Land of Chicago with Its History Prior to 1880," Master's Thesis, The University of Chicago, 1905.

4. Bessie L. Pierce, A History of Chicago: The Beginnings of a City, 1673-1848, Vol 1 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937): 67-74;

5. Morgan, 52; Pierce, 512; Herrick, 46-48; 399-401.

6. Hannah B. Clark, The Public Schools of Chicago: A Sociological Study (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1897): 14.

7. Herrick, 30-44; 61;403.

8. Report of the Superintendent of the Schools, of the City of Chicago 1855 and 1856; see also Johnston, 30-34.

9. Report on the Superintendent of the Schools of the City of Chicago, 1863: 19.

10. Johnston, 34; Morgan, 52; Herrick, 48,54.

11. Joan K. Smith, Ella Flagg Young: Portrait of A Leader (Ames, IA: Educational Studies Press and Iowa State Research Foundation, 1979): 26; Herrick, 74.

12. Ibid, 63 Edith Abbott and Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, Truancy and Non-Attendance in the Chicago Schools (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917): 50-55.

13. Ibid., 55. Herrick, 63-65.

14. Smith, 46. Edward E. Gordon, "Charles Deneen and The Illinois Progressive Movement," unpublished paper prepared for a seminar on the History of Progressive Education, April 28, 1986.

# SUMMARY

Compulsory education in the states has had a unique pattern of development. Not having any long arm of national authority from which to grow it has had to rely on state and local grass roots endeavors as the impetus for its occurrence. At state levels support has often been minimal, occurring after local efforts have forced state progress in the form of legislation. In this model of educational growth the one recurring difficulty has been to compel local and state governments to provide adequate financial support.

In analyzing Chicago during the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries these configurations can be seen; especially the lack of financial commitment. The purpose of this paper is to use Chicago as an example of the currents leading to the spread of compulsory education in large urban areas.

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